

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 185.—JULY, 1891.

ART. I.—A NEGLECTED CLASSICAL LANGUAGE.

SOME fifteen years ago, the Books of the New Testament were being subjected to the same unflinching criticism which is now being applied to the works comprised in the older canon of the Sacred Scriptures. And it is only because religion is secretly so close to the heart of every man, even to the hearts of its deriders, that this sort of criticism is so strained and inveterate. But in those days there was no yielding from within the citadel. The defenders of the Faith were then led by one whose intellect was as subtle and analytic as his religion was devout and single-minded. If his constancy of soul was sustained from sources supernatural, his reason derived strength from a solid erudition and a capacity for the appraisement of evidence, which gravely smiled upon, as it quietly exposed, the showy mask of learning often presented to it. Although the Church included then, as it does now, many weak-kneed theologians, ready to make terms with German destructive criticism—eclectic Ritualism having not as yet bred the hybrid and charlatan variety of the stamp which has been lately revealed—such a champion as Bishop Lightfoot rallied even these with his cry of “no surrender.” He carried the defence into the camp of the enemy, and, in a series of brilliant papers in the pages of the *Contemporary Review* (1875-76), he succeeded in placing the Gospel narratives upon such rocks of defiance, with regard to the questions of age and authenticity, that their position in these respects has been deemed unassailable ever since.*

* For the most recent testimony to the impregnable historical position of the New Testament, see the remarkable review of *Lux Mundi* which appeared in *The Times* of 13th November 1890.

As is now the method of attack adopted in one department of Old Testament analysis, so was there, then, a loud malignant whisper which talked of a common ancestral "document" from which the Gospel writers had drawn and misdrawn their "facts." It was a "Compendium of the Life of Jesus Christ," by one Tatian, to which Eusebius had referred, and which was in extensive circulation in the second century in the Syrian Church, which many of the critics seized upon as the probable quarry from which the Evangelists had picked out a harmonious substratum on which to build the bulwarks of Christianity. Bishop Lightfoot, however, had a subtler theory than that. "No," said he, "this work of Tatian shall, indeed, form a foundation for the Gospels, but only as fixing a chronological barrier, marking a date before which they must have been composed." Thence he went on to demonstrate the probability that Tatian's work was compounded out of the Gospels, not the Gospels out of Tatian. Now, if this theory could have been proved to be fact by the worthy Bishop, it would have established an irrefragable position—namely, that the Evangelists' narratives, from which Tatian copied, must have been in existence previous to the year 160 A.D., the acknowledged latest date for Tatian's Compendium. The Bishop guessed this work to be merely a harmony of the Four Gospels; but he could not prove it so, and thus establish the prior appearance of the Gospels, because the work itself had been lost for centuries, so that its exact contents were thus unknown. And here comes in the romance of the story. "Ah! if Tatian's work could only be recovered from the bygone ages to confirm the truth!" must have often been the learned writer's craving. But that was almost impossible. Even Eusebius, in the fifth century, could only describe the book from hearsay. When Theodopetus, Bishop of Cyrrhus, visited, in the year 280, the Syrian Church in Edessa, he had ordered all copies of "Tatian's Gospel" to be destroyed as heretical. Notwithstanding, then, the hopelessness of recovering the lost treasure in the 19th century, will the real situation be credited? The case was actually this. While Dr. Lightfoot was penning his famous articles, the longed-for work was in reality stowed away on the top shelf of his book-case!

Prior to the destruction of Tatian's Gospel, one Ephraem, the Syrian, had embodied, paragraph by paragraph, the entire work in a Commentary which he had composed upon it. He wrote in Syriac, and his compilation had also long ago disappeared. However, in the days when it was popular, Ephraem's work had been translated into the Armenian language. The Armenian version had not been lost; but Armenian was—and

is—a language unknown to our theologians. An Armenian monk of the convent established by Mekhitar at Venice, by name Paschal Ancher, had even published Ephraem's Commentary in 1832, little dreaming of its value. Bishop Lightfoot, many years previously, in a bibliophilist humour, had purchased a second-hand copy in Venice, meaning some day to study Armenian. Yet it was not by the Bishop that these circumstances were brought to light. In 1877, a German lighted upon Ancher's publication at Venice; and it was only when this discovery was revealed to the world of letters that Dr. Lightfoot found on his book-shelf his own copy. It remained for the learned scholar Theodor Zahn to pick out Tatian's Gospel—the Diatessaron, as it is styled—piece by piece from Ephraem's Commentary, and, putting the paragraphs together, to make public the ancient work in its entirety once again. Then, indeed, was Lightfoot's conjecture proved to be correct. Tatian had merely aimed at presenting a full and consecutive narrative of Christ's Life, by linking together into one whole all the important statements and facts recited by the four Evangelists. Their very words were culled bodily by this second century harmonist, and the antiquity of the Gospels, as Lightfoot had anticipated was indisputably settled by these voluminous quotations.

To the Armenians and their language is this important result primarily due. Moreover, we have introduced the long, but interesting, narrative only with the intention of leading up to the subject of this review, which is designed to set forth the importance of this neglected tongue to English students.

Armenian is a language which deserves to be seriously studied by both the theological and the classical scholar. Hidden away in this idiom,—and, again, hidden away in the libraries of obscure Armenian monasteries—exist treasures of ancient literature, indigenous as well as imported, which would adequately repay the trouble and patience of mastering a new language of certainly exceptional difficulty.

That the Armenian language and Armenian literature have not remained untouched by curious outsiders, I am fully aware. German linguists have naturally bored their way into these mines, and have been slowly and laboriously turning over the material with the view to its philological sublimation and calcination. But German philologists are, after all, mere digestive machines. What is here required is not patient soulless pedantry, but men of brilliant parts and wide general reading—men, not without a department of their own, but with the scholarship and all-round ability which can

appreciate and make use of the miscellaneous accumulations of a literary people, whose reputation has long lain forgotten. Thirty years ago M. Brosset, who had mastered both the Georgian and the Armenian languages, performed much useful work in this direction; but his investigations dealt chiefly with the literature of Georgia. Since then, Mr. H. Dwight, Professor Petermann, and Dr. S. C. Malan have published translations of Armenian writings; whilst one of the latest recruits is Mr. F. C. Conybeare, who, an accomplished Oxford man of polished tastes, has shown himself so enthusiastic a student of Armenian as to make a literary tour in the country of the language itself. However, whether one's hobby be Oriental history, Greek literature, Ecclesiastical lore, or Biblical investigation; if the desire is to make discoveries of importance in these departments, let the devotee be assured that, in the books and MSS. of the tongue to which I am referring, lie the best of chances of the kind. But after a brief digression of a more general nature, I shall attempt to set forth more particularly the principal vein into which Armenian literature has flowed, and some enumeration of the treasures already known to exist may be likewise recorded.

Armenia, in connection with Turkish misrule, has recently been so much before the public that we have at length gathered more precise notions regarding its geographical situation. We at least picture it somewhere betwixt the Black and the Caspian Seas, with the Caucasus Mountains as a leading feature. Formerly, an extensive kingdom, with the Southern provinces protruding far into Persia and Asia Minor, Armenia, as we know, has now no political existence. Part of the old territory belongs to the Shah, part to the Sultan of Turkey, and by far the largest portion (including Erzerum, Kars, and Tiflis, with the great table-lands stretching north of the Caucasus) to the Czar of all the Russias. A great number of Armenians still cling to their ancient soil; but the majority of the educated and more enterprising of this nation migrated, many generations back, to the larger towns of Europe and Asia. Thus, at Constantinople, it is estimated that no fewer than 180,000 of the population are Armenians. At Vienna exists a colony of 15,000; whilst at Kutty, near the Carpathians, is an isolated settlement, dating from the fourteenth century, whose members speak a dialect, the nearest akin to the ancient Armenian tongue. The important religious community at Venice, who have given in their allegiance to the Pope, have been well-known for nearly 200 years; and it is from the San Lazzaro Academy there that most modern works in the language, especially the grammars and the dictionaries, have been issued.

It was at Venice that Lord Byron attempted to study Armenian. Other centres of this scattered race are in Cairo, Bombay, and Calcutta. In Calcutta reside 670 Armenians, with church, schools, and institutions of their own. Manchester is the only rallying point on English soil, and possesses a small community of Armenian merchants, numbering about 130 souls. Everywhere, it would seem, except in their native land, they are notably prosperous; the richest merchants and bankers in Eastern towns belonging to this nationality. Confirmed money-makers, they are lavishly charitable to their own people; and in a philanthropic investigation in Calcutta, concerning the distributing of charitable relief to the poor of all nations in that city, only one Armenian was reported to be in want—a man who had offended the community by leaving their Church. In their wide diffusion, their wealth, and their business capabilities, not to mention their generosity to their own poor, the Armenians are curiously parallel with the Jewish race.

But, unlike the Jews, the Armenians are Christians, and their Christianity dates back to the most primitive times. They allege their Church to have been founded, circa A.D. 35, by the Apostle Thaddæus, and in the rejoinder issued in 1888 from the head of the Armenian Church, declining the invitation of Leo XIII to merge their national Church in that of Rome, mention is made of "her existence of 1854 years in an independence which she will ever maintain." However, historically we know nothing of the existence of an Armenian Church prior to the end of the third century: when Gregory, the illuminator, evangelized the country, converted the king, and, in the year 302, was finally consecrated first Bishop of Armenia. The Armenian Patriarch, whose See is settled at Echmi-adzin, 12 miles from Erivan, in Russian Armenia, represents Gregory in his position of primate, and to the present day the "Gatoghigos," occupying this chair, is the Metropolitan of the whole Armenian Church. He is head of the ancient monastery at Echmi-adzin, and is known in European writings as the "Katholikos." Under this Patriarch are the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and in the three Patriarchates of the Orthodox Armenian Church are various Archbishops and Bishops, canonically subordinate to their respective Provincials. At Calcutta resides a suffragan in whom English clerics of the "advanced" type in our city take, one may say, a touching interest, styling him, in unctuous zeal, "the Armenian Archbishop."

In alluding, hereafter, to the liturgical department of Armenian literature, we shall have something to say concerning the doctrinal attitude of this Church and her present relationship to both the English and the Roman Churches. The

literature of the country is, indeed, in many respects closely interwoven with Ecclesiastical History, both local and general.

When Armenian writings are denominated "classical," it should be explained that the term, far from being in this case an exaggerated, or unmerited one, deserves to be applied in two senses. The literature to be found in the language is to be divided into two great sections; and both of these are in great measure, classical, even in the technical sense. One section embraces the imported, or translated, works—translations executed in ancient times; the other section comprises the indigenous works—compositions of native Armenian authors, both ancient and modern. The first department, although wholly transferred by mere translation from other languages into Armenian, is altogether made up of the acknowledged classical writings of other civilised races, and, from its comprehensive purview, is a most important collection. This, moreover, should be the section dealt with first in these pages.

In the fourth century of the Christian era the Armenian idiom was elevated to the dignity of a written language, Greek having been previously the literary medium of Armenian scholars. When the language had thus gained a character of its own, a veritable bibliomania almost immediately set in. Throughout the fifth and following centuries, so amazing was the national voracity for books of all kinds, that a perfect army of scribes in every convent were put to attack the literatures of all countries. In that way, the whole body of Greek and Syriac works, sacred and profane, then current, was presently transferred into the Armenian tongue. So omnivorous were the translators, that writings, important and insignificant, were indiscriminately seized upon and duly assimilated, one and all, to the vernacular idiom. As a result, many of the minor compositions of ancient authors, which have been long ago lost in their original forms, are now found existing in these Armenian translations in old monastic libraries. In an age, like our own, which is so ingenious in erecting magnificent fabrics out of forgotten rubbish heaps, such materials will be considered more important than any discovery of *opera majora*. At least it is a consolation to surmise that certain of the books which the destruction of the famous Alexandrian Library was supposed to have removed for ever from the world, may yet be found mouldering in damp chambers on the crags around Ararat.

Some of the more prominent of the translations made from the Greek in the fifth century may now be enumerated. Armenian editions of at least five of the works of Aristotle, are known to survive, namely, the Categories, the Analytikon,

Περὶ Κοσμοῦ, Περὶ Ἀγγέλων and Περὶ Ἐρημνείας. It is the Armenian version of these works which Mr. Conybeare has collated and published. Then we have the complete productions of the poet Kallimachos, the writings of Diodoros Sikulos, Olympiodoros, and four volumes of Aeschylus. A voluminous life of Alexander the Great, by an anonymous Greek author, is among the MSS. at Venice. All the ordinary Greek classics are likewise to be met with.

The editions of the Fathers and the Ecclesiastical Historians are the most notable treasures. Amongst those specially worth examination and collation are the five series of the works of St. Athanasius. The Armenian copies represent translations made within 100 years from the date of that great author's death, recording, therefore, his *ipsisima verba* before the corruptions and perversions of later editions were put forth. At Venice exist MSS. of 23 separate works of Athanasius, including his "Life of St. Anthony, the Abbot, and other Holy Anchorites," and the disputed tract on the Incarnation; also the Missal and Breviary said to have been the compilations of the saint. Philo's works have a peculiar interest; and the Armenians can boast here certain survivals not known to exist in any other form. I can only mention the writings of this author existing in the Mekhitar College at Venice; but others are reported from the Archiepiscopal Library at Erivan. The Venice series of Philo comprises:—

- (1) Three Dialogues; one on the Souls of Beasts, and two on the Providence of God.
- (2) Researches on the Books of Genesis and Exodus.
- (3) Discourses on Samson and Jonah.
- (4) On the three Angels which appeared to Abraham.

Of ancient books which have acquired a mysterious reputation, chiefly because they were numbered amongst the "lost," none seem to be so often referred to as the "Chronicle" of Eusebius of Cæsarea. Until comparatively recent times, this work was only known through Jerome's account of it, and was said to consist of an elaborate chronology, preceded by an epitome of universal history. Scaliger endeavoured to compile a supposititious text of the chronicle, using the various extracts from it, as given by contemporary authors. However, in 1788, an Armenian version of the original was found in St. James's Monastery at Jerusalem; whilst, later, an Armenian translation of a Syriac version came to light from Echmi-adzin. Careful collations of these MSS. were not made until 80 years afterwards, by Petermann; and now, with the help of Jerome's text, we may at last be said to have had this not very important mystery solved, and to have been put in possession of Eusebius's work exactly as it was left by its author. Naturally

there are innumerable writings by St. Chrysostom to be met with in Armenian dress. It would require the scrutiny of an expert to pick out any of those which do not survive in their original Greek, if any such there be. Chrysostom has, I fancy, been too universally popular in the Eastern Churches, for even one of his minor compositions to have been permitted to lie in oblivion and so become lost. Nevertheless, it may be of interest to name some of the titles occurring in Somal's Italian list :—

- (1) Commentary on St. Matthew.
- (2) Thirty-three Homilies on St. John's Gospel.
- (3) Homilies on St. Paul's Epistles.
- (4) On the Annunciation.
- (5) On the Holy Cross.
- (6) Homilies on St. Thomas's Unbelief and concerning the Sunday known as *Dominica in Albis*.
- (7) On St. Milesius, Bishop of Antioch.
- (8) On the Baptism of Jesus Christ.
- (9) On Penitence and the Prophet Jonah.
- (10) On the Passover of the Hebrews.
- (11) On the Good Samaritan.

Turning to the Epistles of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, which, as documents composed only eighty years after the Crucifixion, are of the utmost importance in the determination of many nice points of primitive Christian doctrines, and of early Church government, the famous controversy as to the original shape of these letters will at once recur to the student's mind. Cureton's theory that the Ignatian Epistles were originally only three in number (which was so eagerly caught at and enlarged upon, *contra Christianos*, by Bunsen and Renan) has been at length most conclusively refuted. Zahn, Lightfoot, and Dr. Travers Smith of Dublin, have caused the majority of critical scholars to accept, as the genuine productions of the venerable martyr, the seven somewhat shortened letters which Vossius first disinterred from the Medicean MS. Few, however, are aware of the important confirmation of these conclusions to be gathered from Armenian sources. The Armenian version contains the seven Epistles, in shortened form, and entirely free from the Arian interpolations which first cast discredit on the expanded editions. As the Armenians derived their series from the Syriac early in the fifth century, this version reaches back almost to the times of Eusebius, with whose extracts and comments it exactly harmonizes. In addition to the seven accepted Epistles, we find, in the Armenian series, the six other letters usually held to be spurious. Nevertheless, as these six non-Ignatian Epistles were evidently translated in one batch with the genuine letters, which had not then (as this version plainly proves) been manipulated by the Arian interpolator, we

at least ascertain that the six were not, as was once supposed, further compositions of the heretical interpolator, but that they are—though not of Ignatian authorship—yet *of very early origin*. These last are thus intitled in the Armenian collection :—(1) To those of Antioch ; (2) From Mary, the Proselyte of Kasdagh, to Ignatius ; (3) Reply of Ignatius ; (4) To those of Tarsus ; (5) To the Deacon Heron of Antioch ; (6) To the Phillippians.

Our orthodox Churches, doubtless, have pardonable cause for triumph in the establishment of the authenticity of this famous septet of second-century letters, as opposed to Cureton's excerpts. Many are the important positions and doctrines which thereby gain the strength of the stainless testimony of a "Pupil of St. John" as to their being current in the most primitive ages of Christianity. Some of those conclusions deserve special mention here. The Ignatian Epistles, when the unadulterated versions of Armenia and Syria are consulted, at least establish :—

(1) That there existed in the Church of the first quarter of the second century the three Orders—of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon.

(2) That the New Testament was, for Ignatius and also for the Church of his time, already a written collection like the Old.

(3) That the Old Testament had the solemn imprimatur of re-adoption by the Churches, as the direct Revelation of God, so early as 110 A.D. at least.

(4) That the Holy Communion occupied then a commanding position ; the word *Eucharist* being reserved to express only a specified section of the office.

(5.) That the Christians had already cast aside the Jewish Sabbath, and observed, as the Lord's Day, the first day of the week.

(6) The writers of that day were familiar with the phrase "the Catholic Church."

Moreover, in quitting this most interesting of subjects, and one very properly interminable to the Christian apologist, it is worth pointing out, as one of the more important pieces of internal testimony to their antiquity, that the word "Trinity" is not once mentioned in these writings, just as it is absent from the canonical works of the New Testament. Nevertheless, as in the latter, the particulars of the doctrine are as fully and palpably implied.

Extraordinary, indeed, is the mass of patristic literature thus lying *perdu* in this unknown tongue. Much of it, doubtless, is unworthy of translation ; but, on the other hand, much would prove of the highest value for critical and collative purposes,

if only it were rendered available to the professional analyst. For example, of the works of Ephraem, the Syrian, twenty-nine volumes are known to exist in Armenian MSS., in addition to the valuable Commentary on Tatian's harmony. The writings of Eusebius Emesenus, of which nothing but a few fragments have been hitherto seen by European scholars, are to be found in their entirety in the Ararat monasteries. I must also mention having noticed the occurrence of no fewer than 34 volumes of St. Gregory Nazianzen, 17 treatises by St. Basil, and the rare works of Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria, in the Armenian lists. However, enough of this. My object is not to catalogue exhaustively, but only to indicate generally, and to lead the way to further investigations by future possible students.

The Armenian Church is so much part and parcel of the Armenian people that her distinctive character is almost synonymous with their nationality and patriotism. Their Church is their own, and with touching tenacity have the majority of the race clung to her as a peculiar possession, resisting for centuries the unremitting enticements of the Roman Propaganda. So early as the year 1240 A.D., we find one of the national authors, Mekhitar Sgyuratzi, composing a vehement "Discourse against the Popes of Rome;" and a MS. of the work occurs in the Venice Library. Many similar writings of later date are extant; and, in fact, just at the period when the English nation was, under her Plantagenet monarchs, asserting the autonomy of the Anglican Church, in opposition to Papal encroachment—just then was the Armenian Church engaged in resisting the same interference from Rome.* As we know, however, pertinacity and importunity have gained their usual meed of success; and a portion of the Armenian race has yielded to offers of Papal protection. Thus, in addition to the Orthodox Armenian Church already referred to, we hear of the Uniat Armenian Church, which is the Roman branch. The members of this branch (like the Chaldæan Church, separated by similar influence from the Orthodox Nestorian, or Assyrian, Church, and like the Uniat Church of Syria, separated from the Syrian Jacobite Church) have been permitted a half sort of independence, with the use of their national liturgy, as revised and emasculated by the Roman fathers. Happily the bulk of the Armenian nation is too patriotic to

* It would seem that in the year 1307 A.D. a king of Armenia, Leo the Third, having convened a Council, proposed to unite the National Church to that of Rome. Moreover, among other matters, he promised the Pope that the mixed chalice should be used in the Armenian Church. The bitter feeling which was thus evoked, at length led to his murder.

abandon its ancient religious autonomy ; and continues to resist, with sterling vigour, both the blandishments of the Vatican, working on one side, and the stolid bribery of the American missionaries, who, on the other hand, are bent on converting this grand Old Church to a vapid congregationalism. Of the two tempting forces, naturally the American system, as being non-episcopal, is more distasteful to educated Armenians than to the ignorant villagers, amongst whom the Yankee proselytism is chiefly conducted.

Towards the Church of England, the Orthodox Armenians assume an attitude very different from that exhibited towards the two agencies who have thus trifled with long-standing ardent convictions. Reverencing her ancient lineage, her faithful preservation of much primitive doctrine, and her heroic isolation, many Anglican clergymen, from the Archbishop of Canterbury downward, have cultivated friendly relations with the Armenian Church. Our policy has been, not to entice these respectable Christians to quit the national fold, but to encourage them to help and improve themselves within its antique borders. Thus have they learnt to trust, and feel a fellowship with, the English Church. Although we have never entered into formal communion with the Armenian Church, our intercourse with her commenced in the last century. In the library at Jerusalem, the community exhibit with pride a printed record of the visit of an Armenian priest to Calcutta 100 years ago, and how, at the opening of St. John's Church in that city, he was placed with the English clergy, near the altar. The year just concluded (1890) has been a noteworthy one for much reciprocal intercourse between representatives of the two Churches at Jerusalem. Dr. Blyth, the Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem, has attended, semi-officially, services in the Cathedral Church of the Armenian Patriarch, who has likewise returned the courtesy. A correspondent of the London *Guardian*, writing from Jerusalem, has communicated so picturesque an account of a visit paid to the Cathedral on 20th July 1890 by Bishop Blyth and his chaplain, that we cannot refrain from a brief extract :—

“When the Bishop and his chaplain arrived, they found that careful arrangements had been made for them, and the Principal of the Patriarch's College in the Convent, Mr. Isaac, who was educated in part at Dorchester and Cowley, came forward to help the Bishop to understand the service, of which he had an English translation. The Patriarch was preaching with great force and distinctness when they were brought in. After a short interval, during which a hymn was sung, the procession of clergy came in, with the Bishop, who was to celebrate, wearing his mitre ; a chaplain carried his pastoral

staff, which was of the English shape, and of silver, jewelled; his mitre was large, of the Latin pattern, of cloth of gold, jewelled. The vestments were much like those worn formerly in England, and extremely rich and handsome. There was a large choir of men and boys, all richly vested, who sang the responses and an occasional hymn, or anthem. They stood (the boys in front, the men behind, about thirty-five of each), forming three sides of a square, in the centre of the Church. The Patriarch's throne is a double one, with two chairs; the inner of these is the throne of the Patriarch, but it is once only occupied by him, at his installation. The theory being that St. James, who is claimed to have been beheaded where the beautiful little chapel of commemoration stands, retains the throne, which is occupied once only by the Patriarch; his chair is on the right, within the same dais. On the south side of the Church is a corresponding dais, on which Bishop Blyth and his chaplain were placed. The Armenian Bishop, who officiated, was assisted by two priests (who wore the stole crossed) and by four deacons (who wore it over the left shoulder), and by several other attendants; all wore vestments very tasteful and of great value. The chalice, tall and large, was of gold, or silver gilt; the paten fitted the top of it. When the congregation were communicated (choir first, then the people), the Bishop came to the front holding the chalice, in which were the bread and the wine together; he knelt down, supported by two of the clergy, and so communicated the people, who came forward with great reverence of manner. There were several children amongst the communicants; one little one was lifted up by her mother towards the Bishop. Had they been conscious that they would join again in no service on earth, there could not have been a more thorough earnestness of manner throughout the entire service, both on the part of those who ministered and of the congregation. The humility with which the Patriarch joined in the service was touching, especially to those who knew his character."

Notwithstanding these pleasant approaches to one another, it must be distinctly understood, that the Anglican Church is not considered to be in communion with the Armenian Church. The Armenians have kept aloof from all communion with other Churches since the Council of Chalcedon; being supposed to have adopted the Eutychian heresy, which alleged Christ to have been possessed on earth of but one "nature," and that, a non-human nature. Though accounted in this way a Monophysite Church, several Armenian authorities repudiate the idea that such doctrines have been, at any time, formally promulgated by their Canons or Councils. Certainly but few expressions occurring in their liturgy can be brought

forward in support of the alleged heterodoxy. Indeed, in the Armenian variety of the Nicene Creed, we may find a formal repudiation of the Eutychian opinions with which the Church had been charged. The words made use of may be translated thus :—" Was born perfectly of the Holy Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost ; of whom he took body, *soul*, and mind, and *everything that is in man*, truly and not in phantom form."

Both in doctrine and in liturgical usages, the Orthodox Church of these interesting people naturally approximates to the belief and customs of the Greek communion. No mention of the *Filioque* occurs in the Nicene Creed ; graven images of saints are condemned as idolatrous ; the Holy Communion is delivered in both kinds to the laity, the bread being dipped in the wine for that purpose ; and the Parochial clergy are required to be married men. Nevertheless, there are many special points of difference, characteristic of the sturdy independence of the race, amongst these may be noted the use of unwatered wine and leavened bread in the Eucharist ; the deliverance of the elements to the people by the celebrant in a kneeling posture ; and the very curious form of the Ter Sanctus wherein it is alleged that the *Holy Trinity* suffered for sinners on the cross. Elaborate in ceremonial and vestments though modern Armenian ritual undoubtedly shows itself, yet over and over again is it asserted by liturgical writers that this was not always so. The intercourse with Rome, which was carried on during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is stated to have produced radical changes in the Armenian Use. Prior to such intercourse, the ritual was extremely simple, no robes, for example, being worn by the officiating clergy in celebrating the Holy Communion, and a mitre only of a peculiar national pattern, being assumed by the chief celebrant. It was Rome who contributed the mediæval millinery to two great national Churches, both equally distinguished for their primitive establishment and their maintenance of a sober, yet polished, standard of doctrine—the ancient churches of England and of Armenia. If the new society which has been just instituted for the purpose of examining and publishing Eastern liturgies, is capable of obtaining the translation of the eighth century Armenian office-books, preserved at Venice, the result will be some startling revelations for our unctuous Anglicans of the modern brand. It is to be noted that to this day the Armenian Missal invariably designates the altar by the word *Syeghan*, the everyday term for an ordinary "table." The liturgical office-books of the Armenian Church are by no means numerous. There is the *Hahrmash-dotz*, which comprises daily prayers and missal ; there is an authorised and very ancient collection of

hymns and graduals, several old copies of which exist in the MS.S. department of the British Museum; there are three series of Homilies for reading aloud in churches; and lastly should be mentioned the Ordinal and the *Kanungharkh*, or book of church edicts, the latter most important and interesting to the ecclesiologist, as containing the proceedings and canons of councils distinctively Armenian. To these, of course, must be added the grand Armenian version of the Holy Scriptures, called by La Croix "the Queen of all the Versions"—the work of Isaac the Great and Mesrob Mastoz. This translation, which included the apocryphal epistles to and from the Corinthians, represents the text of the Bible as received circa 400 A.D.

Certainly the most extensive department of Armenian literature is that which embraces the distinctively native works—the long range of the original productions of Armenian authors, reaching from the introduction of letters into the land down to the small company of men who are at the present day doing their best to make their thoughts and writings contributions to the general stock of the world's knowledge. Armenian writers have always been great in the chronicling of history, and in this way the early authors of this race of book-lovers have contributed much that has never been properly acknowledged, concerning the ancient annals of the civilised nations upon earth.

Selecting for mere mention a few from the army of chroniclers, I may name, first, Agathangelos, who, so early as the year 360 A.D., wrote the annals of the reign of King Tirdates. In the fifth century, the *Vartabed* Yeghishe—better known to Europeans by the Latinized form of name "Elisæus"—composed a "History of the Persecutions of the Armenian Church by the Persians; and of the Wars of the Armenians against the Persians." Passing on to the thirteenth century, I find there exists a most valuable series of records of the "Invasions of the Tartars from the year 300 to 1264 A.D.," written by a contemporary of Ghenjis Khan, one Ghiraghos Kantzaghetzi, who flourished from 1230-1270. Both Klaproth and Brosset have translated parts of these important narratives, but the main portion remains unknown to scholars. Another similar and equally valuable work is a chronicle of the invasions of the Mongols by Maghakia Apeghah. Again, in the fourteenth century, Hethoum Badmich composed a "History of the Tartars," who, in his days, were the one great conquering race in the universe. Worthy to place beside these annals is the work of another fourteenth-century writer, Nyerses Palientz, a History of the Lives and Times of the Emperors of Rome. It would, doubtless,

prove worth the while of any future successor of Gibbon or Mommsen to acquire the Armenian language, that he might cull from the views and the records of this unexplored historian of the Roman Empire, who lived and wrote 550 years ago.

Naturally, it would be out of place in a mere Review article to attempt anything approaching to an epitome of the indigenous literature of Armenia. The writer has only had the design of indicating some of the forms which it has assumed, and to afford to the scholar, whose literary appetite may be whetted by such hints, some inkling of the prey to be hunted down and dissected. Little further need be added. History, secular and ecclesiastical, with poetry and dialectics, make up the bygone literature of every nation of letters. It is only in very modern times that Armenian authors, in common with their contemporaries in other countries, have run into the by-paths of knowledge which in these latter days, under the name of "Science," have become the high and beaten roads of the larger body of book-makers. However, most scientific works in the language are mere translations of famous German, French, and English books. Still the gallant little land endeavours to keep towards the front. She even issues at Tiflis her own reviews and magazines. Mr. Stead, in a recent number of his "Review of Reviews," published a list of the contents of no fewer than three native Armenian periodicals.

But where are these relics of past industry and learning to be met with? All the leading libraries of Europe have been endowed with moderate collections of books and MSS. in the language; and the majority of such possessions have been subjected to some sort of examination by competent scholars. In the British Museum, there seem to be about 52 Armenian MSS, in addition, of course, to a large series of printed works issued in recent years from modern Armenian presses in Russia and Turkey. The MSS. are mostly copies of the four Gospels written in several characters and illuminated, together with a few ancient specimens of missals and hymn books. Two or three of the Gospel MSS. are of value, as they were penned in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and are written on a curious thick cotton paper. Several Theological works are included in the British Museum collection; likewise a very ancient copy of a Commentary on the Psalms, dating from the twelfth century, and a Life of St. John the Evangelist, in a copy marked with an Armenian date corresponding to the year 1307 of our era. A thirteenth-century copy of the Apocalypse and Epistles includes an apochryphal epistle from the Corinthians to St. Paul, with the Apostle's letter in reply. At Oxford the Archives of the Bodleian

Library hold a goodly number of MSS. rather more varied in character than those in London. They have been of late submitted to the critical scrutiny of Dr. S. Baronian of Manchester, who has already in the Press a full descriptive catalogue. Other European collections of Armenian treasures are to be found in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, in the San Lazzaro Convent of Venice, where are 383 MSS. in the Armenian Monastery at Vienna, in the Vatican Library (13 MSS.), at Lemberg Monastery in Galicia, and in the Lazarev Institute at Moscow. Besides these, several private collections are in existence, among which special mention may be made of that of M. Emin at Moscow, that of Gospodin Khoodobashey at St. Petersburg and that of an Armenian gentleman residing at Cairo, referred to by Mr. Conybeare.

But the principal hunting-ground for the antiquarian and the original investigator must be the country itself, although it is just possible that a few treasures lie hidden in our Indian libraries. All the larger, and some of the minor, monasteries in Armenia Proper can boast of book hoards, the contents of which deserve inspection. Many of these store-houses of bygone learning have never been visited by travellers or even by Armenians of any education. The central establishment of this kind, without doubt, is the Patriarchal Monastery of Echmi-adzin. There resides the head of the whole Armenian Orthodox Church, now, indeed, a venerable patriarch in the truest sense, being upwards of 90 years of age. Mr. Conybeare, who visited the monastery in 1888, remarks: "Vagharshapad, the Armenian village which has grown up round the monastery, is a poor place, consisting of mud-built houses. The chief building, after the monastery, is the college, a long copper-roofed stone edifice, in which are educated about 200 Armenian youths, who come from both Turkey and Russia. There is a fine library well-stocked with books of reference." The writer adds, "that the monastic library contains some 4,000 manuscripts—a statement which is hardly to be reconciled with the estimate of 481 MSS. as given by M. Brosset. At Erivan, with its enchanting views of Mount Ararat (18,800 feet above sea-level), is a private library, containing many unique works, the property of Mons. Voskan Wohannesiantz. At Sanahin is the fine collection of over 100 MSS. known as the library of Archbishop Sarghis. We mention these instances as the chief among many. At Tiflis, where there is a University, we find, of course, an extensive Armenian library, the contents of which are, however, mostly modern productions.

So far, this article has treated of the literary treasures known to exist, or likely to be discovered, set forth in the idiom and

characters proper to the land of Ararat. But of this neglected language itself we have as yet said nothing, though it is placed as the title of our article. Nevertheless, we hope we have taken decidedly the best course to whet the appetite of the possible student, by exposing to view the inside of the citadel, before the difficulties of ascent thereto are put in sight. We have shown in this way that the language is worth learning; that the literature to which it would yield access is one not without possible prizes, and is deserving to be ransacked and sifted by the antiquarian, the classical scholar and the theological student. But a few remarks must be added in reference to the main peculiarities of the language.

First, let it be premised, that the speech of Armenians of the present day, and the idiom used in modern publications, will be found by no means the same as the language of the classical works to which we have been chiefly referring. Ancient Armenian, as it is styled, was the medium in which standard treatises were composed, not only in olden and mediæval days, but even in quite modern times. Classical Armenian, accordingly, is the language to which the would-be student should begin by devoting himself; and then, if needful, he can pass to the modern representatives of the primitive idiom. The grammar of the old language is really complicated as compared with that of the dialects now in use; but the vocabularies of the ancient and modern speeches are much the same. Thus, in the declension of substantives in the classical grammar, we find ten sets of terminations, which form the ten different declensions; whereas in most of the modern dialects there is but one declension, one set of terminations being used for the inflexion of any substantive or adjective. Still, the difference between ancient and modern Armenian is hardly wider than that which is observable between classical and modern Greek.

However, at the best, the word-forms of the Armenian tongue must appear to the outsider as novel as they are uncouth. Philological scientists, in order to satisfy the rules of their artificial systems, can forge the most monstrous relationships betwixt languages, which, to the common-place observer, seem totally unallied. Accordingly, these ingenious gentlemen have found a nook for the untractable speech of Armenia, and label it as an offshoot of the Iranian branch of the Scythic family of languages. It is not for those acquainted with both the Armenian and Persian languages to justify this supposed connection between these tongues; they could hardly do this when, in construction and in all primitive forms, the two are radically antagonistic. The mutual loan of a

few words proves no ancestral relationship. To generalise, classify and reduce the delightful variety existing in every department of the world to monotonous unity, is the hobby of the age. But all the Caucasian languages have so far bewildered even our mountebank philologists. Now, take this Armenian tongue, as unrelated to the neighbouring tongues of Georgia and of Daghestan, and of all the valleys in Caucasia (each valley possessed of its own isolated idiom), as it is to the greater languages of Asia or Europe. If you subject it to inspection, what can you or any philologist make of such words as these—the common words of the language? You find *Aranod* morning, *Yeryegoh* evening, *Aryekagun* the sun, *Antzrlu* the rain, *Yeghpahr* a brother, *Kohr* a sister, *Sronnkakk* the leg, *Kloukh* the head, *Adamounk* the teeth, and *Khakhatzotz* the stomach! Shall we look for Iranian affinities to these, which we have extracted only at random from the Armenian vocabulary? Rather, let us hope to discover their cognates in Gaelic, or in the speech of the Chippeway Indians. And here, moreover, may be added half-a-dozen of the more ordinary verbs:—*Shrchil*, to walk, *Shanan-yel*, to kill, *Woudyel*, to eat, *Ambyel*, to drink, *Dzadzgyel*, to cover, *Ajabaryel*, to hurry! Notwithstanding this unique vocabulary it must be admitted that stray Arian forms, such as, *Dal*, to give, and *Janachyel*, to know, do occur also; but they are manifestly refugees.

With regard to the scheme of verbal inflection, a couple of examples will be enough. Here is the future tense, active indicative, of a first conjugative verb: *Sharzhyel* to move.

Sharzhyetzitz: I shall move.
 Sharzhyestzyes: Thou shall move.
 Sharzhyestze: He shall move.

Sharzhyestzouk: We shall move.
 Sharzhyeschik: Ye shall move.
 Sharzhyestzyen: They shall move.

The form of the substantive verb is simple certainly.—

Yém: I am.
 Yés: Thou art.
 E': He is.

Yémk: We are.
 Ek: Ye are.
 Yén: They are.

In the construction of sentences the Armenian language is very easy and straightforward, and the order of the words resembles that in modern European languages; the verb, for example being never, as in other Oriental tongues, relegated to the last place in a sentence.

So much of what has been now said relates to both the classical and the modern form of Armenian. A few remarks of a general character may be added concerning the modern speech. The idioms of the present day, however, have been shaped into dialects differing considerably the one from the other. So scattered during the last few centuries has been the Armenian race, that one can hardly describe the medium of speech amongst them as one

common language. Four leading dialects of modern Armenian may be differentiated. First stands the idiom spoken in the heart of the land of their origin, that in general use in the Russian province of Trans-Caucasus, often known as Ararat Armenian. This is the colloquial of Erivan, Echmiadzin and the eastern districts bordering the Caspian Sea. Next we have the dialect peculiar to Turkish Armenia, which is the most widely diffused of them all; as it is heard amongst the many thousand Armenians residing in Constantinople, as well as among the provincials of Asia Minor. At Tiflis, though the situation is in Trans-Caucasus, the Turkish form is said to predominate. A third variation in the language, and that a very distinctive one, is that which is used by Armenians north of the Caucasus, the colonies seated at Astrakhan, Nakhechevan, Kisliar, and in other centres much further within Russian territory. The fourth colloquial, much adulterated with Persian, prevails among the unfortunate members of the race who inhabit Kurdistan. Whatever the dialect spoken, the better class priests seem to be equally conversant with the classical language, which in many respects remains the literary language everywhere. In the Churches, while the Liturgy and Holy Scriptures are recited and read in the old speech, one invariably hears the sermon preached in the vernacular. However, an Armenian of Constantinople would be in some difficulty to understand a preacher at Erivan; though the main dialectic peculiarities lie in idiosyncracies of pronunciation and local systems of terminology, and only slightly in vocabulary. As it would be beyond the scope of a Review article to introduce a discriminating survey of dialect, our subject forthwith reaches its fitting conclusion.

It may be added that those cruel antagonists of the Armenians—the Kurds,—when they wish to write their own language, invariably make use of Armenian characters.

GRAHAM SANDBERG.

ART. II.—THE REAL MAJOR GAHAGAN.

"SWEET are the uses of adversity," says Shakspeare. Had he written now-a-days, he might perhaps have said: "Great are the uses of advertisement." No one, who has the tenacity of purpose requisite for continuous self-assertion, seems now likely to experience the sweetness of the older uses. Messrs. Apples derive a colossal fortune by describing their wares on the clouds of heaven, or in the bowels of the earth: their balms may be the most precious in the world; but why should we take their word for it? Bellman, the poet, handles the Press, or telephones his genius from the remote East. Little Fleabottom, the general practitioner, becomes the great Sir Truffle Fleabottom, the eminent nose-doctor, by professing to found an infirmary for disorders of the ethmoid. Mrs. Leo Hunter urges the chase through the jungles of Belgravia, and captures the king of beasts. Everybody is taken at his own valuation, if he only makes the estimate duly known, and adds the cost of the proclamation to the price demanded of the credulous consumer. Even the *fin-de-siecle* soldier shares in the profitable sport: and the age of iron ends in the age of brass.

Some inkling of what was coming was perceived in the middle of the century, when Thackeray recorded the *Tremendous Adventures of Major Gahagan*, who engraved his honours on his visiting cards, and informed the public of his conversations with Royalty and his feats in love and war. One turns with feelings of relief—not unmixed with surprise—to the real story out of which that squib was concocted; the story of a real Indian Major who did his work with calmness and reticence, waiting patiently for his opportunities, and content to live and die undecorated.

Like his fictitious representative, our hero was a tall and brave wielder of the sabre, who raised and commanded a body of Irregular "Horse." Like Gahagan, he bearded the truculent Holkar in his durbar-tent, and won the love of a dusky Princess of Ind. But with these circumstances the resemblance ends; for, while Thackeray's hero was a braggart and a swaggerer, our own Anglo-Indian Major was a modest, retiring gentleman, with an almost morbid hatred of self-assertion.

The main features of this officer's career have been recorded by Mr. Manners Chichester, in an excellent article (WILLIAM LINNÆUS GARDNER) in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XX. But some letters written by him at

the time of Lord Moira's Nepalese war having come into the possession of the present writer, it has been thought that extracts of general interest might be made to throw light upon a curious phase in the development of Anglo-Indian life and manners. The period is that of the fall of Emperor Napoleon, who, at one time, appeared to be preparing to renew the struggle for the Empire of India which had been so alarming in the second half of the eighteenth century. Possessed of Egypt, and completely dominant in the counsels of the Czar Paul; influential in Persia, and having warm sympathisers at the camp of Daolat Rao Sindhia, the mighty Corsican might, at the end of that century, well have seemed more likely to disturb the half-formed British power in India than when Bussy and Dupleix—with half-hearted support from the red-heeled minions of the *Œil-de-Bœuf*—gave so much trouble fifty years before. How the peril was faced by Pitt and the illustrious brothers Wellesley, is matter of general history. By 1814 the peril had been so confronted as to have completely vanished; but there were many internal dangers, and many resolute efforts still awaiting the founders of that marvellous empire.

It was the Nepalese war, fought on an exhausted exchequer, and, mainly, with most incompetent generals, with the Sikhs gathering on the North, and the Pindaris, backed by the perfidious chief of the Mahrattas, on the South, that put the last stone upon that foundation. In a smaller way, too, this war is memorable: for it gave to British India the whole line of the lower Himalaya, including the stations of Simla, the summer capital of India, and Naini Tal, the *villegiatura* of the Government of the North-Western Provinces.

It is hardly too much to say that the termination of this enterprise, the peace with Nepal, which has never since been broken, and the acquisition of the land of sanitarium and cradle of the now enormous Indian tea-industry, were the work of Gardner. The last Gurkha army, under its famous leader, Amar Sinha, was, no doubt, overcome by the skill and resolution of Sir David Ochterlony. But it was Gardner who conceived and executed the strategic operations which cut Amar Sinha off from his communications and sources of reinforcement, and thus compelled his surrender at Maláon, and left him next year impotent for the defence of Khatmandu.

The eve of the war found Gardner in his cantonment, near Etah, in the district of that name, commanding his squadrons of Irregular Horse (now represented by the 2nd Regiment of Bengal Cavalry), and occupying his leisure with the care of his estates and of his half native-family. But to explain his position, it will be necessary to go back to the time of the

French Revolution and the beginning of the great war with the new Republic.

Born in 1771, son of an officer in the British army, and nephew to Lord Gardner, a distinguished Admiral, young Gardner entered the service in 1789, and became a Captain in the 30th Foot. In 1794 his regiment was in India, but he took part in the abortive expedition to Quiberon before proceeding to the East. Becoming soon weary of life in an Indian cantonment, he joined the service of Takuji Holkar, then engaged in a vain struggle against the superior skill and power of Sindhia, and his able general, the Count de Boigne. In 1798, Takuji died, bequeathing his projects to his illegitimate son, the famous Jeswant Rao, who was afterwards encountered, according to Thackeray, by the redoubtable Goliath, Gahagan.

Holkar made great efforts to overthrow the rival power. Madhuji Sindhia had died in 1794, and his successor was not his equal, either in ability or judgment. Yet there were many other lions in the path; so that Jeswant Rao had considerable difficulty in establishing himself as head of the Holkar clan; and it was not till 1799 that the army, of which the "Regular" portion was under the command of a French officer of experience, the Chevalier du Drence, could be persuaded to put itself under his orders. Towards the end of that year he encountered Colonel Hessing, at the head of a force of which the nucleus consisted of a corps of eight disciplined battalions with twenty guns. The battle took place at Ujjain, in Malwa, and was a complete victory for Holkar. Having shaken Hessing's line with his artillery and outflanked them with clouds of horse, he fell upon the disordered ranks at the head of his heavy cavalry. Four-fifths of the infantry and most of the gunners were sabred where they stood; amongst the slain were a number of the European officers, of whom the rest were taken, with the exception of Colonel Hessing himself, who galloped off when he saw that all was lost, and saved himself by flight.*

This, moreover, was not the last success of the army to which Gardner belonged. Defeated, soon after, at Indore, Holkar lost his camp, his guns, and his capital; which last was most thoroughly sacked, with every circumstance of brutality, by the Mahratta General and his Pindaris. Stripped of everything, Holkar and his men for sometime subsisted by freebooting of the most unreserved description. Du Drence left him and took service with Sindhia; but the bulk of the trained infantry refused to follow the example of

* Hessing commanded for Sindhia at Agra, where he died in 1802. His tomb is a fine building of red sandstone in the Catholic cemetery there.

their commandant and remained faithful to Holkar, who moved about in Central India, avoiding a pitched battle, but plundering and devastating after the old Mahratta custom. On 25th October 1802, however, he was again brought to book near Puna, when he again obtained a decisive victory, though with the loss of one of his best officers, a gallant young adventurer, named Harding. The Peshwa fled, and Holkar became master of the capital.

He now joined the confederacy which Sindhia was organising against the British, but which was defeated by the prompt action and good fortune of the Marquess of Wellesley before Holkar had committed himself by overt hostility. What part Gardner would have taken, if ordered to act against the army of his country, in which he had once served, may be easily conjectured : but the war came to a swift end. In the following year, therefore, Holkar was still in a position to open negotiations, of a friendly nature, with the British Generals ; and Gardner, from his social standing and conspicuous ability, was selected as the emissary to the camp of General Lake in Hindustan. Gardner had, by this time, married a Muslem lady, daughter of the Nawab of Cambay ; and he left his family under Holkar's protection, while he undertook this mission. The emissary was honest, but the proposals which he bore were thought insincere ; and the negotiations came to nought, after protracted discussion.

When Gardner returned to his employer's camp, he dismounted at the door of the durbar-tent, where he found Holkar seated, probably much as described in the veracious narrative above referred to. The chief was on the carpet of honour at the end of the tent, sitting cross-legged, and surrounded by his civil and military officers in similar attitudes. Holkar was violently excited at Gardner's ill-success ; but, as that was not Gardner's fault, he fell to insolent upbraiding on the delay that had occurred ; concluding with these words :—

“ Had you not returned to-day, it was my intention to have thrown down the enclosure of your zenana.”

This was a studied provocation. Holkar was filled with hatred and suspicion of his British-born officers, three of whom he beheaded a few days later.* Gardner narrowly escaped a similar fate, invited, as it would have been, by his own hasty temper. Indignation at the double insult to his fidelity and to his family privacy overpowered the prudence which is seldom very strong in a European provoked by an Asiatic. “ Drawing my sword,” he afterwards related, “ I attempted to cut Holkar down, but was prevented by those

* Their names were Tod, Ryan, and Vickers : they were accused of corresponding with the British General.

about him ; ere they had recovered from their amazement, I rushed from the tent, sprang upon my horse, and was soon beyond the reach of my pursuers." After this exploit, which recalls Major Gahagan in his most doughty mood, Gardner underwent a series of further wild adventures. In his flight, he fell into the power of Amrit Rao, a pretender to the office of Peshwa, or head of the Mahratta confederacy, by whom he was commanded to bear arms against the British : on his refusal, he was tied hand and foot to a cot and threatened with death. Being afterwards unfastened and made over to a guard, he managed to escape from them by leaping into a river over a precipice fifty feet high. He swam down the stream, disguised himself as a grass-cutter, and, after other wanderings, reached the British camp. Lake gave him a kind reception and commissioned him to raise a body of light horsemen, for whose support he received an estate at Khasganj, near Etah. His wife was spared by Holkar, on account of her relationship to the Nawab of Cambay ; and she made her way to him at Khasganj and was his faithful companion to the end, only surviving him a month. Their descendant, the last Lord Gardner, lived as a native, and died near Etah about 1885.

We must now return to the cantonment where Gardner was living in 1814, when Lord Moira, then Governor-General, was coming up the country to prepare for the war with Nepal ; having also on his hands the prospect of a campaign against the united powers of the Peshwa and the Pindaris, who were devastating Central India. Gardner's cousin, the Hon. Edward Gardner, was then Assistant to the Delhi Resident,* and some of the Major's letters to him have come into the hands of the writer, as already mentioned, which afford a curious picture of Anglo-Indian life in that immediate past which is so much more remote from ordinary spheres of knowledge than the *salons* of old Paris, or the private life of Antony and Cleopatra. Yet, entirely past as that life is, it was seen by persons who may still be surviving ; indeed, if any one wishes for further views of it, they can be found in a book published in London only forty years ago. Whether, if the historian of Major Gahagan had continued the narration of his hero's adventures after the relief of Futtyghur, he would have drawn a similar picture ; readers will determine for themselves.

The persons of the little drama unfolded in the letters are :—

THE BEGAM: Gardner's Muslem wife.

BLUNT, WILLIAM, son of Sir C. Blunt, Baronet, born 1780, and, at the time of the letters, a sort of Chief Commissioner

* Afterwards the first British Administrator of Kamaun.

in the Upper Provinces. Spoken of by Gardner as "Sir Waverley Weathercock."

RICKETTS, MORDAUNT,* another Civilian, afterwards Resident at Lucknow.

OCHTERLONY, SIR DAVID, defended Delhi against Holkar,† 1804; Resident at the Court of Delhi, and afterwards the conqueror of the Gurkhas of Nepal. He returned to his post at Delhi after the conclusion of the war; and was there when Durjan Sál rebelled at Bhartpur. His views and conduct in that matter being disapproved by the feeble Government of Lord Amherst, though justified to the full by subsequent events, he resigned his appointment and soon after died at Meerut, where his monument is to be seen: there is a fine equestrian portrait of him in the palace at Sardhana, now the property of Lady Forester.

HEARSEY, CAPTAIN, commanded a body of sepoy in Kamaun; taken prisoner by the Gurkhas, and liberated during the final negotiations.

CHAUNTRA (THE), a minister of the Chand Raja of Kamaun, dispossessed by the Gurkhas; his name was Harikh Deo Joshi. He warmly espoused the cause of the British when they invaded Kamaun, with 4,500 men and two six-pounder guns, under:—

NICHOLLS, COLONEL, afterwards Sir Jasper Nicholls, and Commander-in-chief of the Bengal army. He took Almora, the capital of the province, 26th April 1826; and, having, with Gardner's assistance, succeeded in cutting off the Gurkha General, Amar Sinha, from his base in Nepal, led to the surrender of the enemy to Ochterlony and the subsequent termination of the war.

BAM SAH, the Officer-Commanding the Gurkha troops in Kamaun; he became friendly to the British on perceiving the certainty of their success, and negotiated the surrender of the province with Gardner after the fall of Almora.

The scene of the events unfolded in the letters changes from Rohilkhand to the Dehra Dun, and finally to the neighbourhood of Almora, the capital of Kamaun. A few words may be allowed in description of this province, now the summer-quarters of the Provincial Government, North-Western Provinces.

Kamaun, or Kumaon, is the name of a mass of hills in the sub-Himalaya range, lying between Nepal and the course of the Upper Ganges: its area is 6,000 square miles, and

* Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the Picturesque. By Fanny Parkes. Pelham Richardson 1850.

† Holkar went mad, and died in restraint, 1811.

the present population is about 500,000 souls, principally Hindus. It contains some of the highest peaks in the world, through which there are passes into Thibet, themselves much higher than any European mountains. These ranges run from west to east, gradually increasing in height as they approach Nepál; the rivers, which are numerous, flow eastward, until they finally meet the Ganges, the boundary on the Nepál side being the river Káli. The beds of these streams form the natural approaches to the Province. The country consists chiefly of steep ridges, parted only by narrow gorges and ravines; yet there are extensive plateaus here and there, and level uplands of considerable fertility, many of which are now covered with flourishing tea plantations.

The capital, Almora, is about 30 miles from the British station of Naini Tal, where the heads of departments transact their business in summer, on the shores of the charming little lake. Almora stands on the west of a ridge, a little over five thousand feet above sea-level; and consists of a small native town clustered round the old Gurkha Fort, and bordered by the garden-houses of the European residents. The present population is about 7,000, chiefly Hindus.

Leaving, for the present, these delectable mountains, we turn to the plains below, where Colonel Gardner is preparing for a visit to Hardwár, and the Dun. Hardwár, where the Ganges breaks through into the plains, is the seat of a great annual pilgrimage, which has given rise to a fair, where, among other things, a vast number of horses may be found for sale. After the fair, the Colonel proposes to visit the beautiful Dun, then in the possession of the Gurkhas, in hopes of getting some fishing and shooting, if not prevented by the hourly-expected war. It was not, in fact, actually proclaimed for some months; but the Gurkhas had already committed outrages in British territory; and the ultimatum of the Government was on the eve of rejection by the Durbar at Khatmandu. We will now let the Colonel speak in extracts from the first few letters:—

I.—COLONEL GARDNER TO HON. E. GARDNER.

16th Jan. 1814.

“MY DEAR EDWARD;

“Were I in England I could not hear seldomer than I now do from you The Police-Officer had laid plans for *taking you up* at Moradabad and carrying you off to Hardwar. I hope you mean to go to the fair; in which case I am deputed to request you will not make any other engagement, but join us. Blunt appears to be very unwell; and indeed, on this account, our trip to Shahjahánpur has been postponed. I think we shall reach Moradabad about the end

of February" (The fair is held about the end of March).
 "... The Begam and Alan arrived the day before yesterday; I am going to send them to the Doctor at Bareilly. We grow very lazy here, having nothing to do but" (illegible) "eat, drink, and play cards. Lots of ladies here, four spinsters,—one, a fine French girl would make a captive of you in no time. Pray write to me; and, as soon as I am able, you shall be plagued with a very long letter. Till when, Believe me, etc."

2.—The same to the same.

29th Jan.

".... Blunt, who is not the firmest man in the world, appears now resolved to return shortly to Fatehgarh, and there to embark on the river for Mirzapur; his reason being that he has great confidence in the Doctor there, and that, if he should go to Hardwár, he would be obliged to go back to the confines of his jurisdiction through the hot winds, to be ready to meet Lord Moira" (the Governor-General) "for which he has received an order. In his present state of health he thinks this would do him up . . . Should this keep, I will go to Bareilly and take you up to Moradabad and proceed (with you) to the fair . . . Ricketts has just escaped getting into a very serious scrape. About twenty years ago a Hindu pretended to dream that Bhowáni (a Hindu goddess) appeared to him and said she would be manifest whenever sought in a particular spot in the town of Shahjahanpur. All the Hindus repaired with the dreamer to the indicated place; where, on digging, the goddess was found, in the shape of an uncouth idol. The dispute was referred to the Nawáb of Lucknow (who was then the ruler of Rohilkhand) and he decided in favour of the circumcised, and sent 500 rupees towards building an *Imámbára* (Muslem shrine) instead of a temple. The money was pocketed and the dispute settled. Mr. Ricketts has a Bengali Baboo with him who . . . has a certain influence which he is not delicate about using. This idolator, feeling his power, was determined to use it in building the temple to Bhowani; but, as he knew it could not be done without bloodshed, he got over to his interest the sepoy's stationed with the Collector. These he instructed, and sent them to perform *Puja* (worship) on the 2nd day of the Moharam, where the image was found and where the Muslems had a *Tázia* (emblem of the martyr Hassan). Luckily the latter were too strong for the sepoy's, and no blood was spilt. . . .

4.—(This is a letter *de Omnibus Rebus*. The writer is to go to the valley of "the Sarju, or Ghágra, to shoot tigers, buffaloes elephants, rhinoceros, etc., which swarm as thick as land-crabs in Jummoo," and then to "the entrance of the Sarju into

India, which Colebrooke says is the finest scene without exception." Mr. Ricketts gives news of Edward's being appointed Magistrate of Shahjahanpore, which turned out untrue. The Begam and Alan are under Dr. Fanthome's care at Bareilly, and the Colonel hears from another doctor, a Frenchman, that the Almighty is "*fatigué de faire la gloire de Bonaparte*." Lady Hood is expected to make a tour from Lucknow by Agra and Dehli to Hardwar, where the writer hopes to meet her.)

5.—(Mrs. Ricketts has a hysteric fit ; the moral of which (dated on Valentine's day) is "Don't marry, Edward ; Edward don't marry." Blunt is so vacillating that the Colonel hopes they may part to-morrow. The "little French girl is going back to the Mauritius in despair ; as she finds the English wont like her. She hopes to get a Russian Boyar. For I suppose you have heard that the Allies are going to divide amongst them all the French possessions, and Russia is to have the Isle of France and Bourbon." The rest is about buying the wines of a certain Colonel Bowie, deceased ; and also a very staunch elephant.

6.—The same to the same.

Bareilly, 27th Feb.

(News of the battle of Leipsic in the *Bombay Gazette*. Troubles with "Sir Waverley" (Mr. Blunt). The Begam suffering from asthma. "I wish to God that we were together, to indulge in a hearty laugh at the world and ourselves . . . God bless you ! As soon as Boldero (a Civilian friend) comes in, I shall propose to start. I much fear that the Weathercock will detain him.")

7.—The same.

3rd March.

. . . Blunt got the fidgets a day or two ago, and sent off about 30 expresses in as many hours to call in Boldero . . . who has got his camels. Yesterday he told me, 'I cannot wait an instant longer ; I must go to Calcutta ; strike my tents. No camels ? Then load up the elephants.' And this morning he is off *Dák* (post) for Fatehgarh. I asked, what order ? 'Come along with me as far as Buxar !!!' '*Bhot Khub*,' says I aloud, and to myself, 'I am d—d if I do.' Now, my dear Edward, is this man as mad as a March-hare ? . . . So I will not ; and am now waiting to see what Boldero says. . . He and I cannot be friends, for I am too old to play second fiddle to a crack-brain : if I am to play the fool, it must be on my own bottom." In short, to Hardwar the Colonel will go ; and if Mr. Blunt, to whom he is subordinate, resents it, he will give up his regiment. "If my holding the corps depends on his good or bad humour, they are welcome to take it."

8.—The same

8th March.

"Any letters by the 'Acorn?' By the time she grows to the 'Royal Oak' I shall expect some. I have just received a letter from the Commanding Officer here, with a report of one of my men having fallen in with a party of 40 [illegible] men whom he surrounded, killed one and severely wounded the sirdar."

9.—The same.

[Date obscure.]

(The Colonel has taken Edward's advice and sent a politic letter to Sir Waverley: and is about to start for Moradabad. The Begam is better; she has had the present of "a sucking elephant: she has got into raptures, and its arrival will do her more good than all the *Pharmacopeia*.)"

10. The same.

10th March.

11. The same.

15th March.

[He purposes visiting the source of the Ganges in the Himalayas.]

12.—The same.

Kankhal, 16th April.

(Nothing about the fair, which was over. "Do you know how wild elephants carry their young across the Ganges? Four of the largest form a bed for the calf with their trunks, and two others attend, down stream, to pick him up, should he tumble off. Gospel. . . . Enclosed you will find the beginning of a letter from the Begam to Sombre's Begam: it is all right and proper; anything may be added: the beginning is a gentle pill to dispel certain humours which have of late troubled her brain; and if sent through the Delhi Resident, will not fail of making a paragraph in the newspapers of the metropolis." They are to start for the Dun next day.)

13.—The same.

[This letter is dated "Gurudwara, 25th April;" the place being the same now known as Dehra, the chief town of the Dun. It shows that the adventurous traveller was getting into a hornets nest. Not four miles off, was the strong fort of Kalanga, which was held by a Gurkha garrison, and, before the year ended, was to cost the British the honour of a regiment of foot and the life of the gallant Sir Rollo Gillespie, whose monument may be seen in St. Paul's Cathedral. Gardner's small party was now in considerable danger; he had no means of defence but their sporting guns, and the Gurkhas had adopted a threatening attitude. By diplomatic treatment of the Sikh high priest ("the Bishop" as Gardner calls him), they managed to depart unmolested, and fell back on Saharanpur, where they were safe in British territory. The rest of this letter is devoted to a description of Rikhi Kes and Tapoban, romantic places on the steep and rocky bank of the Ganges.]

On the 1st June the Colonel is only able to scrawl a few lines, by reason of severe illness, described, however, in his own cheery vein. He has got home to Khasganj, but how he did so is more than he can tell. "I have now a regular formed fever and ague of the most violent kind. . . . I have learned to live without eating or sleeping ; am very ill and very weak. If I get better, I shall be at Cawnpore on the 20th ; if not, *tant pis*. I hope, by to-morrow or next day, to write to you more connected : I have 500 things to say. They are determined to keep you in the political line."

We must now resume the narrative form, as there are a number of letters for which space will not suffice. The Begam was at Aligarh when she heard of Gardner's illness, and made herself so ill by hurrying to his bedside that she too fell sick ; and when the fever left him, he found she was lying in a state of the utmost danger at Khurja. On the 18th, however, he was sufficiently recovered to resume his pen and inform Edward that he "could drink a bottle of claret (by order) every day, and make a shift to hobble across the room without assistance." Blunt had returned, after all ; but the state of his health would not allow him to visit Gardner. The Begam was brought round by bark and calomel, the heroic treatment of those days, "Oh Lord !" he concludes, "to-morrow I shall be 43 years old . . what the d—l were we born for?" One is glad to find him adding that "Blunt and I are entirely *racommodés*."

Let us pass rapidly over the rest of the summer. There were relapses of the fever, and Edward paid a short visit to his cousins at Khâsganj. The Governor-General was coming up the country, determined, among other things, to put an end to the practice of inflicting corporal chastisement on native servants. A Mr. Dodd was fined Rs. 400, "by his Lordship's orders ;" and a civilian named King, in his alarm, opened veins in his arms and legs, and died in the high Roman fashion, sooner than give up "wopping his niggers ;" "some say it was to spite his creditors." Gardner is going "to burn his dog-whips."

The year wore on. The rains were late and the severe heat of the prolonged summer was unfavourable to Gardner's recovery. But he continued to write two and three times a week to his "dearest Edward," conveying domestic gossip, news of his friends (Blunt above all interesting him) and friendly reports of services as to wine, horses, hookah-snakes, and tents. In October, Gardner went to Cawnpore by river to meet Lord Moira, who was coming up the country by the same way of travelling, intent upon visiting Lucknow, where, as afterwards appeared, he had important business. Blunt was in trouble ;

his appointment was of the nature of what would now be called a "Commissionership," perhaps something more, of which he was in these days making over charge to an officer named Shakespear : and Gardner's sympathetic spirit was much moved. With Lord Moira he had been acquainted in Europe many years before : there is an obscure allusion to this, in a letter written on his return to Khâsganj, after his visit to the Governor-General, where, referring to the Quiberon expedition of 1795 and its disastrous failure, Gardner thus writes :—

"The business made a great stir at the time, but his Lordship was strenuously defended . . . and the constant attendance I gave him at the time, the strong expressions he then favoured me with, and the offer he made me to accompany him to La Vendée—he cannot have forgotten these things."

In the more than usual weakness of the gallant writer's grammar two things are still clear—Gardner could not have been present with Holkar's army till after 1795, as he was then in attendance on Lord Moira in Europe : and he did not presume upon the acquaintance so formed : "these things," he adds, "if remembered, might give me claims of patronage ; *and therefore it was convenient to say nothing about them . . .* I never asked for patronage in my life." Not like Gahagan in this !

The Begam's health continued to cause anxiety. Gardner talks of her "complaining" and "wheezing," and laughs at her obstinacy about medicines, change of air, etc ; but through all runs a genuine anxiety and constant thoughtful love, which the noble Muslem lady well repaid. Another cause of anxiety arose from the growing complications of public affairs. The Mahrattas were threatening in the Deccan ; and their jackals, the Pindaris, were already stirring and ravaging. War with Nepal was proclaimed in November and opened disastrously ; while it was quite possible that the Gurkha Durbar would be supported by the Chinese Empire, to which Nepal was tributary. There was little confidence felt in the Government ; the finances were disorganised and so was the internal administration. The process of depressing the great native landholders, which was to be carried out in the North-Western Provinces in after years, was only in its first stage, causing discontent and alarm without bringing in profit to the State or prosperity to the tenants.

Gardner's knowledge of the country, his experience in affairs and the real earnestness of character which underlay his jovial manner, made him peculiarly sensitive to all these depressing influences. In November war had become a reality in the North. Colonel Carpenter entered the Dun, after forcing the Timli Pass ; and the gallant Gillespie died, defeated by the petty fortress of Kalinga, or Nala-Pâni, in the same valley. Gardner's

eye at once fell upon Almora : if the Gurkhas could fall back on Kamaun, they might out-general us : we ought to shut the approaches to the hills which he had noticed in the spring (Tapoban and Rikhikes) : we should, in a word, cut off their retreat and make up in science what we wanted in numbers.

In the midst of these cares he is full of his fun :—

“ Stephen is too busy to write ! Reading *Ferdinand, Count Fathom* : but lifts up his head to send his love, and observe that all the letters I write, are *from him*.”

He continues to supply all the information about Kamaun and Almora that he can pick up. Then Edward moves up towards the Dun. Delhi being the head-quarters of operations, it was natural that the Resident's Assistants should accompany military operations, not to interfere in professional details, but to close the hold of Government upon the country, and conciliate the people.

Unwilling as Gardner is to ask for anything, his anxiety about his cousin's welfare, his desire to be giving him help, and his wish to obtain active employment in his country's service, begin to overpower his reserve. “ If they think I can be of use, though I have a great uneasiness at making the offer for fear of a negative. . . . *I should almost be ashamed to think they can possibly want me.** . . . I shall anxiously await your advice.” Hearsey, for one, is going ; but Gardner cautions Edward against Hearsey's imprudence : “ Guard against that, and he will be useful.” Then, for a short time, Gardner gives way to alarm on Edward's account ; fears he is running his head against a wall ; conjures him not to enter Kamaun until a serious advantage has been gained elsewhere to redress the balance in men's minds affected by late failures. “ The point I feel anxious about is your future. . . I wish I could be with you ; not from the vanity of supposing that I could be of any use ; from the ardent and natural desire to be *with you*. As for active business, *on foot*, and amongst the mountains, my infirmities forbid me ; but for lolling on a bed, folding-up your letters, and getting tiffin ready, you certainly cannot have my equal.” To modern Anglo-Indians, who go up to more remote and rugged places than Almora, and who have three permanent cantonments in that Province alone, it will seem strange that one of Gardner's constant cares is about the nature and climate of the country. “ I know not,” he says, “ if you have noticed that the Muhamadans cut off the corner of the paper on which they write their letters.” This practice, he thinks, is due to their remembering that there was a part

* *Italics*, on all but the last word, by the present Editor ; the self-effacement is noticeable.

of India which their great rulers could never annex to the Empire in its palmiest days : they might defeat the armies of the Highlanders and take their forts ; hold the country they could not ; guns could not be taken about in such a place ; the soldiers would suffer in winter from lung disease, in summer from disordered livers, etc., etc. "Should we not succeed, our Government will have risked its existence for a handful of snow." Yet his anxiety to penetrate into these awful scenes and take part in their conquest, is only increased as he thinks of his beloved Edward toiling there alone. On 19th November he writes :—"If you see any obstacle to asking for me, have I your permission to apply to be attached to you ? . . . I should not hesitate a moment, if I did not think it would come with more weight from you." He professes his complete ignorance of "Almora-Kamaun," but is going to "consult Hodgson"—the well known Brian Hodgson,* still "the great authority on Nepál." (*Imperial Gazetteer*, X., 274.)

In the midst of this excitement comes intelligence that "Blunt, in consequence of Shakespear's measures, has forfeited his passage-money (Rs. 6,000) and is coming up *Dák*." This is not only a pleasure to Gardner, from feelings of old friendship, but a relief from serious personal wrong. For some unexplained reason Shakespear was inimical to Gardner, on public grounds no less than in a private character. The gallant writer still doubts whether it will be worth while to occupy any of the territory of the Nepalese, except the Dun, which was rented by them—he says—for Rs. 20,000 a year inclusive of the forest-produce. (The Dun now yields nearly fifteen times that amount.) The more he thinks of the attempt upon Kamaun, the more convinced he is of the temerity of it ; "even had we no other enemies ; but in our present situation, 'tis putting all on one throw of the dice against a stake of no value at all." This was on the 21st November, yet before closing his letter all his views change. P. S. . . . It appears that your army, when you get it, will score as a false attack if we are otherwise successful. At all events, it will help to divide their force and distract them, while it will prevent reinforcements going to Amar Sinha" (then campaigning against General Ochterlony beyond Simla) ; "on mature consideration this is my idea of the business, and for this I sit down to write to you" (*q. d.* this postscript). Such is the vacillation of a resolute mind, and such are the conditions in which second thoughts are best. For the words last quoted contained a strategic inspiration in

* Still living (1890).

embryo. Indeed, the adoption of the plan which we see taking birth in this letter of the 21st, ultimately caused the surrender of Amar Sinha, who became, by Gardner's strategy, completely isolated; and this led to the termination of the war and to a friendship with the Gurkha Durbar which has never wavered since, and which bore substantial fruit in 1857, when they sent troops to aid the Government in its utmost need.

A week later Edward is ready to start, and this is the *viaticum*: "I imagine you ought to have a heavy head, strong legs, nimble heels, invulnerable armour, and a lively faith in God's mercy; for without all these your situation—on the first view of it—appears most precarious." But the other columns ought to prosper; and then all will prosper. "As long as we can carry guns with us, everything will go on well." But, in any case, "I can't bear the idea of being idle when I could be of use. I want to be with you. . . D—n their money! I'd serve for nothing a day, and find myself, rather than be a piece of useless lumber." By the 8th December, however, he had apparently been, at last, ordered to advance into Kamaun with Edward; and his letters cease for five months, during which his plan was carried out with complete success. At the end of January 1815, the Province was invaded by a compact force of sepoys with some light field-pieces. True to Gardner's view of his character, the brave but injudicious Hearsey was cut off and captured. But the enemy persuaded themselves that he was a Frenchman and could procure them foreign aid; so they treated him well, keeping him in comfortable and honourable arrest in the fort of Almora. Harakh Deo Joshi, the *Chauntra*, or minister, of the last representative of the Rajas dispossessed by the Nepalese, warmly espoused the British side, and was in constant communication with Gardner. Almora was taken by Colonel Nicholls, 26th April, after a brisk cannonade; Gardner was deputed to hold a conference with Bam Sáh, the Gurkha General; and a convention was concluded, by virtue of which the Gurkhas surrendered Hearsey, gave up all their fortified places, and departed to Nepál with carriage and supplies provided by the victors. Gardner remained for some time in and about Almora with his levies, cutting off the army of Amar Sinha from all communication with his base, and from all power of obtaining reinforcements. Ochterlony was thus enabled to drive him from one fastness to another, till at last the brave old man was constrained, by his own officers, to come to terms.

Our little episode of Indian History might end here. Thanks to his own resolution and two millions of money which he raised at Lucknow, Lord Moira met the Mahrattas and Pindaris with even more immediate success; and, being fortunate

in the absence of telegraphs and other rapid communication with London, finally consolidated the Company's Indian possessions. For this service he was created a Marquess ; but the self-reliance which he had shown, gave great offence in Leadenhall Street. He had, in defiance of the known policy of his masters, fought twenty-eight general actions, captured a hundred and twenty forts, and made his country supreme throughout an entire region as extensive as Europe, and he fell before pecuniary trouble, dying at Baia on the Campanian shore, in something not much removed from a destitute old age (28th November 1826).

A few more words will be enough for the subsequent fortunes of William Gardner. He continued to command his regiment—now the 2nd Bengal Cavalry—and served with distinction as a “local Lieutenant-Colonel,” in Rajputána. In 1822 he obtained a Commission in his old service—the British army—and the Commission was, gracefully enough, made to date from 25th September 1803, when he left Holkar. He served in Central India in 1821, and in Aracan in 1825 ; returning for good to Khásganj in 1827. About 1830, he was visited at Khásganj, by “Fanny Parker,” the wife of a Bengal Civilian, who published her recollections of India in 1850, under the somewhat inappropriate title of “Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque.” Mrs. Parker was by no means a pilgrim (or “*Háji*,” as she still more affectedly says in some places), and her wanderings were mostly in unpicturesque localities and concerned with anything rather than scenery. Accounts of the family (Archer) from which she was descended ; descriptions of native *Zenanas* and of field-sports, interspersed with more or less inaccurate accounts of Mughal history and architecture ; the whole illustrated by sketches, from the author's own pencil, of buildings, plants, animals, and heathen idols ; such, and such-like, is the *farrago libelli*. Nevertheless, the treatment is bright and original ; the work of a clever and sympathetic lady ; and not the least valuable part is that which deals with Gardner and his curious story and his family life.

Gardner's wife, “the old Begam,” was a lady of distinction who lived the usual Zenana-life surrounded by younger ladies, princesses of Delhi and other local illustrations. It was the impression of Mrs. Parker that these secluded ladies led rather dull lives, occasionally varied by acute fits of quarrelling. She witnessed the wedding of one of the girls to a scion of the Imperial House of Delhi, and she gives an account of the ceremonies, which included two customs, evidently, survivals from the old desert-life of the Mughals. One was, that the bridegroom had to come to the house and carry off the bride with a show of force. This was explained by the Colonel. “It is

an old Tartar custom," he observed, "for the bridegroom to fight for his bride, and carry her away *vi et armis*; this is still retained." The Pilgrim saw the scene; and relates how the prince came at night, with an armed retinue, and was refused admittance at the gateway of the outer courtyard. Nevertheless, he carried off the young lady after a siege and a sham fight. "The Begam," adds she, "would not omit a Timurian custom for the world." The other singularity—at first sight not very intelligible—was that the husband, after getting his wife and carrying her home, bade her put her foot through the opening of the litter, and touched her great toe with the blood of a goat which he slaughtered for the purpose. The practice is said to be peculiar to the House of Tamerlane.

Anyhow, the Begam would not allow any "old Timurian" customs to drop; and we may partly imagine the effect of such conditions of life upon a man who had been formed in youth as an aristocratic British Officer. In person, Gardner was tall and handsome, a mighty horseman and fond of sport. He had been partly educated in France, too; and had a turn for reading; history, blue books, and even scientific works amused him; he was a bit of a mathematician, and could survey and make maps. But his chief talent appears to have been a power of suiting himself to strange conditions. The result was that—so far as one family went—a new species of the human race was formed, the Anglo-Mughal. One of Gardner's sons married a grand-daughter of the Emperor Sháh Alam; and the connection with the House of Delhi continued to be maintained, so that the deceased peer—Gardner's grandson—was a complete Asiatic, as to language, dress, and habits, though related to several noble houses in the British peerage.*

At last came the end of so many experiences in the shape of a peaceful death. Gardner died in his bed, 29th July 1835, followed—a few weeks later—by his faithful Begam. It was about this time, that his imaginary antitype was renewing his youth in the service of Don Carlos; another point of hopeless difference between him and the real Gahagan. To be sure, Gardner was not an author; but he served his king in an unpretentious way; and, perhaps, his life was not less useful than if he had spent it with newspaper reporters in Spain, or in leaving decorated pasteboard at the London houses of the nobility (whom Heaven preserve).

* In the last edition of Burke we are informed that "the peerage is dormant, though an heir evidently exists," a curious instance of a stream of noble British blood sinking into the sands of Asia.

ART. III.—GOSSIP ABOUT PETER THE GREAT.

THE only principle which has guided me in selecting these stories about Peter the Great, is, that they shall be interesting, picturesque, and, if possible, new. Exaggerations they contain, I have no doubt, and flat fiction in some cases, perhaps; but still, at the end, I hope that, taken all together, the picture they will give of one of the most extraordinary personalities in history, will be a true one, and will faithfully represent the man and monarch as he was.

Prince Golitzin tells a curious story about Peter's birth, which I have included, as, though not directly bearing on my subject, it gives a picture of the Russian Court at the time, and a glimpse of the world into which Peter the Great was born.

Peter the Great's father, Tsar Alexei, says Prince Golitzin, delighted to honour his Chancellor Matveiev, and, contrary to the custom of preceding Tsars, used to visit him at his own house, especially after his first wife's death.

Once, calling on his favourite, he found the table so neatly and tastefully spread, that he said: "Your table is set so prettily, that I am tempted to stay to dinner with you; only you must treat me as an ordinary guest, and not let me give you any trouble."

Matveiev prayed the Tsar to stay, and his wife and son soon appeared, followed by a young lady.

When dinner was served, the Tsar looking round at the company, said to Matveiev, "I always thought that you had only a son; I see now that you have a daughter, too!"

"In truth, your Majesty," replied the master of the house, "I have only a son. This young lady is not my daughter; she is the child of Kyril Nariskin, one of my friends, who lives in the country; my wife has taken her, to give her a good education, and a future."

"God will reward your good work," said Alexei.

After supper, when the Tsar was alone with the master of the house, he reverted again to Kyril Nariskin's daughter, and said: "She is a pretty girl, and seems to have a good heart. As she is old enough for marriage, you ought to find her a husband."

"Your Majesty judges her truly," replied Matveiev, "we love her for her good and beautiful nature; still it will be difficult to find her a husband, for she has no fortune, and the dowry I can give her will be necessarily small."

"Then," said the Tsar, "you must find her a husband rich enough to marry her for her good qualities alone."

"That will be difficult, indeed, your Majesty!" replied Matveiev.

"Not so difficult as it seems, perhaps," replied the Tsar; "well, think the matter over, and I too will think of it."

A few days afterwards, visiting his Chancellor's house again, the Tsar referred to the subject of their previous conversation, and asked Matveiev: "Have you considered the matter we spoke of on my last visit?"

"Often, your Majesty," replied the Chancellor, "but I have met with no success up to the present."

"Very good," said the Tsar; "I think, though, that I have solved the matter; I know a husband for her, an honest, good fellow, who is well enough in himself, and is rich enough to take a wife without a dowry, and still more, he knows the lady already: he loves her, and is anxious to marry her. Still more, she knows him, and, though he has made no sign of his affection hitherto, still, I don't think she is likely to refuse him."

"In that case, I beg your Majesty to tell me his name. Perhaps, I know him, too, and then I could make arrangements more easily."

"But," objected the Tsar, "I have told you that he is an honest fellow, and can make her happy: what more do you wish? You have only to ask the lady whether she will consent to my choice."

"Since that is your Majesty's wish," replied Matveiev, "I can assure your Majesty that she will agree to your Majesty's choice. Still, to make the matter more certain, I must know the proposed husband's name."

"Well," said the Tsar, "since you wish to know his name, it is I myself!"

Matveiev, at these words, throwing himself at the Tsar's feet, implored him: "For the love of God, your Majesty! reflect before carrying out your proposal. You do not know how many enemies I have amongst your nobility, who envy me all the benefits you have loaded me with, and they will believe I have led your Majesty into this marriage, to make sure of your Majesty's future favours. At least, spare me the danger of introducing the matter, and follow the old customs of the country. Summon all the most noble maidens to your Court, and let Kyril's daughter, Natalia, come among them. Choose her out, and then your Majesty's purpose will be fulfilled, and I shall be shielded from the hatred and envy of the nobles."

"Very just and reasonable!" replied the Tsar: "I shall follow your advice, and act as you say."

Sixty noble maidens, Natalia amongst them, were summoned to the Court of Moscow, on September 14th, 1670; and he Tsar's choice fell upon Natalia. Of this happy marriage

was born, on May 30th, 1672, a Prince, to whom was given the name of Peter.

The young Prince's horoscope was drawn out by two monks—Simeon Polotski and Dmitri Rostorski,—who watched the stars all night and occupied themselves with foretelling futurity. They saw that, when the young Prince was born, a bright star burst out beside the planet Mars. They regarded the star intently, and, from its appearance, forecast thus the horoscope of the young Prince:—

"This Prince," they said, "will mount upon the throne, and none of his fathers will be counted his equal, for the greatness and glory of his deeds. His fame will grow from day to day; the world will be astonished at him, and, when he becomes a great conqueror, many shall fall beneath his sword. He will subdue his jealous neighbours, and achieve so many and glorious actions as all his forefathers together have not achieved. He will visit many lands, both near and far. His own subjects will thwart him, but, in the end, he will carry his objects, after many revolts, and will make himself a name by land and sea. He will punish the wicked, reward the just, sustain religion, and undertake many hazardous enterprises. All this have we seen in his star as in a mirror, and we make over this horoscope to your Majesty under our hands and signatures, that it may have the more faith and credit."

Ten years after, on Tsar Alexei's and his son Feodor's death, Peter was left co-monarch with his half-brother Ivan; Ivan's elder sister, Sophia, ruling as regent. To commemorate their triple rule, coins were struck, with the heads of Ivan and Peter on the one side, and Sophia on the other.

Young Tsar Peter's first achievement was to found a little regiment, with himself as drummer-boy—a regiment which was, and is, the most famous in the Russian army. Peter's military mentor was a Genoese, M. Le Fort, who, besides teaching his pupil how to beat the recall for his toy-regiment, also, much to Peter's displeasure, insisted on initiating him into the pleasures of cold water, and teaching him to swim. It must not be supposed that Peter's early dislike to cold water was racial. It had really quite another cause. When he was a baby, his mother had taken him across a ferry in a storm, and the terror of the wind and waves stamped itself so deep on Peter's mind, that it was years before he could look upon a river or a lake.

Le Fort hardened him by degrees, making him cross rivulets when out hunting, and taking him to the Ismailov garden, where he saw the boys diving and swimming in the ponds. At first, Peter would not even look at them, but at last he went so far as to join in their aquatic delights. By the time he had reached his twenty-fifth year, he was left

absolute monarch by the death of his brother Ivan, and the rebellion and imprisonment of the Regent, Princess Sophia. Peter had amused himself during these years by warring with the Turks, holding miniature naval reviews, sending embassies to Europe, and patching-up old boats.

In 1697 he determined to explore the civilized world under the guise of an ambassador to the European States, and set off from Moscow, through Livonia towards, Riga, under the name of Peter Mikhailof and the assumed title of Grand Commander.

He and his suite, all their way through Livonia, had created a famine in the land. At every stage they consumed three hundred pounds of bread, thirty barrels of beer, thirty jars of brandy, forty pounds of salt, an ox, six sheep, thirty chickens, and vast quantities of fish. [It seems curious—a barrel of beer and a jar of brandy to every chicken—but so says the chronicler, and we must believe him.]

He also records that, in spite of all the profusion, the officers of the staff grumbled all the way through Livonia.

On March 31st the embassy arrived at Riga. It was the first time Peter had seen a town fortified according to European science. He asked the Governor, Von Halberg, to show him the fort and explain its plan, a request which Von Holberg, not perhaps unnaturally, refused.

Peter was offended by this refusal, and promised to avenge himself by investigating the fort as its conqueror, a scheme he afterwards carried out. Naturally, after this the embassy did not linger long in Riga, setting out a few days later for Mittau, *en route* for Konigsberg, the capital of the future Frederick I, king of Prussia, then elector of Brandenburg. At Konigsberg, they had a grand reception by the German Court. Three squadrons of the Guard, on white, black and brown chargers, came out to meet them, preceded by trumpeters and sackbut and psaltery players; then came a company of infantry with gilded halberds. A detachment of cavalry and lancers, with silver axes, followed. Amongst Peter's staff were six Kalmucks in Asiatic costume, armed with bows and arrows, forming a strange contrast to the splendidly armed soldiers of Germany. During his stay at Konigsberg, Peter used to dress-up as a sailor, and go boating on the river in a little skiff, which he managed himself. One day, in the street, the young Tsar met a great German lady who wore an enamelled gold watch, a miracle of skill quite unknown to the Muscovite Prince. Although he had never seen her before, he at once stopped her in the street, and pulling out her watch, took it off the chain, and, opening it, examined it for several minutes, in perfect silence. Then, restoring it to the terrified

dame, he bowed low to her and departed, still in silence, brooding over what he had seen.

At Konigsberg, also, when slightly elevated after dinner, he wanted to fight a duel with Le Fort, his best friend and the counsellor of all his reforms. One of his courtiers, however, caught him round the arms, and held him till his anger cooled.

Day after day the Tsar wandered through the city, peering into workshops, and questioning, with inquisitorial tenacity, the craftsmen, mechanics and artisans of the town. All the wood-turner shops were visited, till at last a friendly turner taught him to turn amber mouth-pieces for pipes, and the imperial curiosity was satisfied.

They had fireworks, too, at Konigsberg, with Russo-Turkish battle-pieces and Russian double eagles with triple crowns. At dinner with the Elector, one day, the Tsar's wrath was raised to boiling point by an unlucky lackey who broke a beautiful Japanese dish. Peter at once sprang on the offender with a sabre, and would have decapitated him for his clumsiness, had not the Elector forcibly intervened.

The embassy lingered a little longer in Germany; but Peter was impatient to reach Holland, where he hoped to learn ship-building and navigation, and lay the basis of Russian trade and of a Russian fleet.

He chose Zaandam as his head-quarters in Holland, and arrived there in August in a little boat which he himself had navigated down the Rhine.

Zaandam was then, as now, a pretty little Dutch town, half-a-dozen miles to the north-east of Amsterdam. Canals cut the city up into little islands—canals across the streets, canals in the gardens, canals round private houses, canals everywhere. The city lies in a half-circle round the great central canal-basin, whose busy wharves were the centre of Zaandam's commercial wealth.

All along the main canal, for six miles and more, a formidable army of windmills—windmills in tens, windmills in scores, windmills in hundreds—waved their white arms in the air above their red and green painted wooden roofs. A thousand or so wooden-houses, mostly one-storey high, likewise painted red and green, made up the city of Zaandam when Peter the Great arrived. Doubtless then, as now, the horizon was made hideous by rows of young, trim poplars, looking like bottle-brushes stuck up to dry: more monotonous even, because more alike, than the rows of palms in Lower Bengal.

Doubtless then, as now, in Zaandam, the Vrouwen of the city wore the quaint, stiff national head-dress, of black silk and white satin, with diamonds, gauze and lace, and a circlet of gold filigree around the brows. Doubtless then, as now,

the little milk-carts of the city were drawn by great melancholy dogs, with a world-weary sadness in their eyes, and its hundred canals were spanned by steep little bridges of wood, looking as if they were only for ornament, but whose real use is to leave room for the barges to pass below. Doubtless the streets, the bridges, too, the wharves, the barges, the houses, the windmills, the dogs and the milk-carts were all obstinately, persistently, painfully clean, so that one was afraid to step in the streets of Zaandam for fear of offending and soiling their superhuman purity.

By good luck, as Peter and his staff anchored by the Zaandam wharf, they saw on the quay a sturdy Hollander, one Gerrit Kist, who had worked for his Majesty sometime in Moscow.

Peter called him, confided to him his plans, and hired of him a hut of two rooms only, and built of rough-hewn logs, where the Tsar of all the Russias dwelt for the rest of his stay in spotless Zaandam. In the hut, at the time, lived an old Dutchwoman, whose rights of tenancy were bought out by the monarch for the magnificent sum of seven florins, and so Peter the Great made a home for himself in the place.

To return to the quay. The Tsar leapt ashore, in red shirt and canvas trousers, and, mooring his skiff, with his suite, betook himself to the inn, and gave himself out as a workman come to seek work at Zaandam. The white hands and the well-filled purses of his suite made this incredible, however, even to the trusting people of the town. Next day, Peter bought a carpenter's outfit from the widow Oonees on the Upper Dyke, and went to work in good earnest, still with the name of Peter Mikhailof. He joined a boat-builder's gang, obeyed orders like the rest, pestered the gang-master with questions, and made his first step in the language by finding out the Dutch for *why*? His gang-master's name was Lynst Teenwiszoon Rogge, and he deserves to go down to posterity as the godfather of the Russian Navy. The day following, he paid a call on Vrau Hitmans, whose son, Thomas, had worked for him in Moscow. The worthy Vrau, says the chronicler, received him cordially, as a friend of her son, and made him drink a quarter-pint of gin, which was all that, in her poverty, she could afford to offer him.

On quitting the Vrau, he made his way to the house of Vrau Antje Meetje, also the wife of one of his Dutch workmen in Moscow, and gave her the news of her good man, with whom, he said, he had worked in the dockyards of the Tsar. He met, a little later, a certain Van Couwenhoven, who saw through his disguise, and through whom all Zaandam soon learnt the identity of their illustrious visitor. Peter, however, had come

to Zaandam with serious aims, and was not to be put off by recognition, or the unwillingness of his suite.

He ordered workmen's clothes for the whole party ; and, on the Tuesday following, bought from the builder Harmenszoon a two-oared boat, for which, after long bargaining, he paid the sum of 40 florins and a pot of beer, which they drank together like good comrades at a beer-house near the *overtoom*. Next day, he visited widow Willemszoon Musch, whose husband had served him in Russia, and shared her humble dinner in his capacity of her husband's former friend. Peterbaas, as the Tsar got himself called by his Dutch friends, soon satisfied his curiosity about carpentry, and turned his attention towards the mills and factories of oil, paper, ropes, compasses, sextants, telescopes and so on.

"Let me see" and "Explain," were his favourite words, and he never left a factory until he had, in some sort, learned the art or trade there practised. His quickness astonished his teachers, and his generosity delighted them ; for he never omitted to bestow a *rixdal* (double-florin) on the workman whose labour he had interrupted. A day or two later, a letter from a Dutchman in Russia to his father in Zaandam, announcing the departure of the Muscovite embassy and the Tsar's incognito, let the cat out of the bag. "You can recognise him," he wrote, "by his big stature, and by a convulsive trick he has of moving his right arm and head, and by a scar pretty visible on his right cheek." The letter was read aloud in the barber's shop, and just as it ended, the Tsar himself happened to come in. "Our barber," says the chronicler, "as unable to hold his tongue as the barber of king Midas—for indeed all barbers are talkative folk—discovered, on the Tsar, the signs and traces mentioned in the letter ; and as a barber can never remain silent, the news that one of the newly arrived strangers was the Emperor of Russia, spread like wildfire through the city." All the world ran to the houses of honest Gerrit Kist and Van Couwenhoven, to ask if the news were true. Mrs. Kist—whose maiden name was Miss Neel Macks—came to her husband and said, "Gerrit ! I can't stand-by any longer and hear you telling lies. It is true, neighbours, Gerrit has deceived you, and the stranger is his Majesty the Emperor of Russia." A day later the Tsar was taking a walk about the dam towards the *Zuiddijk*, having armed himself with a bag of plums, which he ate as he sauntered along. Soon some children gathered round him, a school, perhaps ; and to the pretty ones he gave plums, but to the ugly ones he gave none ; and the latter were very wroth and pelted the stranger with mud, so that he fled and hid in the inn of the "Three Swans."

The Governors of the city heard of it, and published a proclamation, forbidding all the children of Zaandam to eat the plums, or to pelt mud at the "illustrious stranger," who was domiciled in their midst, and Peter's incognito was at an end. Consideration and invitations flowed in upon the Tsar. The Burgomaster Joor, and the wealthy Nicholas Arendszoon Bloem sent word by the interpreters to invite their master to sup with them and eat fish prepared after the manner of the Dutch ; and the worthy Nicholas Melkpot, member of the Corporation and Doctor of Medicine, came to the hut to pay respects to the Royal Guest.

Then the merchant, Meijnert Arendszoon Bloem, came to Peter and offered him his house in lieu of the wretched hut, and gained favour with the Tsar, as did Cornelis Calf, a worthy man of Zaandam.

C. T. JOHNSTON, C. S.

(To be continued.)

ART. IV.—VITAL STATISTICS OF INDIA.

With the relative Prime Cost of Life Assurance in the Dependency.

THOSE of our readers who have a distaste for figures, had better skip this article, and pass on to something which they may deem more attractive. The subject is of great national importance, as a social, political, and economic problem, but it is wholly impossible to approach it, without the introduction of tabular matter. We shall, however, keep the latter within as moderate limits as possible.

In the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, the *Journals of the Institute of Actuaries*, the *Royal Statistical Society* and elsewhere, the present writer has had occasion to bring the matter under observation. In January 1877, and December 1888 also, papers were read before the East India Association on the subject. In the last mentioned case, there were four or five sections of the narrative omitted, a pledge being given that they would be made public later on, and we now proceed with the utmost brevity to fulfil that engagement. Since December 1888, certain important information has reached the writer affecting the longevity of the natives of India, and this will be embodied in the present article. The supreme importance of the subject we have said cannot be exaggerated. The first question, of course, which every Englishman contemplating an Indian career, asks himself, is the chance of his surviving his 20, 30, or 40 years of service : the climatic risk to life, in fact, in India, as compared with Europe, Australasia, the Canadian Dominion, or elsewhere. It is also of imperial importance, if we can show that the heavy drain on the manhood of the United Kingdom for the maintenance of our Indian Empire, is being gradually reduced, by reason of the steadily increasing longevity of Europeans in the Dependency. There are great differences of opinion on the subject : one party going so far as to contend that Englishmen run as little risk in India as they do in England ; while the other affirms that they run treble the risk, or, if not that, certainly double the risk, or, if not that, certainly a risk equal to half as much again, as they would in those climates supposed to be better adapted to Europeans. Happily the truth admits of absolute demonstration. Those gigantic beneficent Institutions, the Indian Service Funds, have at various times had to summon the professional assistance of eminent Actuaries of this country to report on their affairs, and the data thus incidentally accumulated are most comprehensive, and of an absolutely trustworthy character. There are, indeed, few scientific problems on which a brighter light has been thrown, than on those arising out of Anglo-Indian Vital Statistics.

The following is a *résumé* of the more important contributions to the subject, which have appeared up to the present time :—

1855.—These are fully detailed up to last year, in an article by the author of this Paper in the *Calcutta Review* for March 1855, and which is reproduced verbatim in the *Journal of the Institute of Actuaries* for October of that year.

1871.—These are fully detailed for the period 1855 to 1871 on page 11 of the June (1874) number of the *Journal of the East India Association*.

And the following is a list of documents affording further information on the subject which have appeared during the period 1871 to 1887, so far as the writer has been able to ascertain :—

- (b.) 1874.—“ On the Rate of Mortality among Residents in India being subscribers to the Uncovenanted Service Family Pension Fund ” between 1837-1872, by A. J. Finlaison, C.B. (*Journal of the Institute of Actuaries*, April 1874.)
- (c.) 1875.—“ On the value of European Life in India in its Social, Political, and Economic Aspects,” by F. J. Mouat, M.D., F.R.C.S. (*Report of the British Association* for that year.)
- (d.) 1876.—“ On the additional premium required for residence in Foreign Climates,” by James Meikle, F.F.A. and F.I.A., published in the *Assurance Magazine*, Vol. XIX.
- (e.) 1876.—“ Note on the Mortality among Europeans resident in India,” by T. B. S. (presumably Mr Sprague, late President, Institute of Actuaries), published in the *Assurance Magazine*, Vol. XIX.
- (f.) 1878.—“ Vital Statistics of India ” [European Army], by J. L. Bryden, M.D., Surgeon-Major, attached to the Sanitary Commissioners with the Government of India. Calcutta, 1878.
- (g.) 1881.—“ The Census of India : Rate of Mortality and Duration of Life,” Vol. I. London : Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1883.
- (h.) 1885.—“ On the Rates of Mortality among Natives of India,” as deduced from the recent Census Returns, by G. F. Hardy, F.S.S. (*Journal of the Institute of Actuaries*, No. CXXXVIII.)
- (i.) 1886.—“ The Annual Reports on Sanitary Measures in India,” 1868-1886. London : Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887.
- (k.) 1888.—“ The Public Health of India,” by Mr. Justice Cunningham, of the High Court of Judicature, Bengal ; read before the Society of Arts on February 27th of last year.
- (l.)—1890. Report of Mr. James Meikle, F.F.A. and F.I.A., on the Oriental Life Insurance Company of Bombay. Bombay, Education Society's Press. 1890.

It will be convenient to exhibit the results of the enquiry to June 1874, and this is done by the following table :—

VITAL STATISTICS OF INDIA.

47

Mortality per Cent. per Annum amongst various Classes.

Age.	Uncovenanted Service Family Pension Fund.		Bengal Civil Service.		Bengal Military.			Madras Military (Madras Fund).		European Non-commissioned Officers and Men in India, Dr. Farr, 1847 to 1856.	Assured Lives.		Retired Officers of the Indian Army.	English Life Table. Males. Dr. Farr. 1841.	Age.
	The Whole of the Subscribers 1837-57. Tait.	Eurasian Subscribers only 1837-57. Tait.	* Davies 1780 to 1838.	* Neison 1790 to 1842.	* Woolhouse, 1760 to 1837.	* Davies 1760 to 1837.	§ Neison 1800-47.	† Davies 1808 to 1840.	§ S. Brown, 1808 to 1857.		India Experience of Oriental and Laudable Insurance Co's. Francis, 1815-47.	England. Committee of Actuaries.			
20	...	...	1'18	1'18	2'66	2'64	2'23	2'19	3'26	5'64	2'47	'73	...	'92	20
25	1'61	1'12	1'54	1'54	2'73	2'72	2'45	2'34	3'16	4'88	2'72	'78	1'10	'99	25
30	1'40	1'13	1'69	1'69	2'91	2'89	2'75	2'62	3'20	4'96	3'04	'84	1'17	'96	30
35	1'42	1'35	1'87	1'87	3'15	3'13	2'90	2'63	2'94	5'14	3'53	'93	1'29	1'24	35
40	2'81	2'99	2'09	2'16	3'44	3'43	2'89	2'55	2'80	6'16	4'21	1'04	1'47	1'21	40
45	2'78	2'69	2'40	2'69	3'81	3'82	3'45	2'92	2'68	5'74	4'86	1'22	1'77	1'70	45
50	4'63	4'46	2'84	2'61	4'26	4'26	3'39	2'23	2'75	5'61	5'46	1'59	2'23	1'85	50
55	...	...	3'35	2'56	4'92	4'84	3'83	2'54	3'06	5'47	5'90	2'17	2'86	2'86	55
60	...	...	4'02	3'26	5'92	5'52	3'96	3'03	2'75	5'46	6'47	3'03	3'66	3'40	60

* Dodwell and Miles' list. † Ram Chunda Doss' list. ‡ Colonel de Havilland's data. § Patronage Book of India House.
 ¶ Report of the Commissioners on the Sanitary State of the Army in India. ¶ Journal of the Statistical Society, Vol. I., page 279, &c.

This table fully explains itself. The general result is, that the value of European life in India has improved and is improving, and that this amelioration appears likely to continue. None the less, comparing the death rate in the Bengal Civil Service, certainly the most select class in all India, with what obtains at home, we find that per 10,000 annually these are:—

Age.	Home.	India.
25	99	154
35	124	187
45	170	269
55	286	256

At 55, the mortality actually appears to be less than amongst the male population of England and Wales.

Passing on to consider the experience applicable to the period 1857-90, which includes the abnormal casualties by the Indian Mutiny, we have first, the paper (*b*) by Mr. Finlaison of the National Debt Office, read before the Institute of Actuaries.

The male subscribers to the Fund numbered 1,964, their wives and widows 1,765, their sons 1,492, and the unmarried daughters 2,031. The lives under observation were of the most heterogeneous character, as may be inferred from their names, comprising according to General Hannington—a most excellent authority, who spoke in the discussion—Hindoos, Armenians, British, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish, or the descendants of such ; but no attempt seems to have been made by the author of the paper, to discriminate between Europeans and Eurasians, by which latter, as is well-known, the ranks of the Fund are very largely recruited, and who are coloured persons of mixed European and Asiatic parentage, or the descendants of such. Probably about two-thirds, we are told, are permanently resident in India. The lives observed were resident in the Presidency of Fort William, which is held to include all the Indian Provinces, other than those under the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and the male subscribers were only admitted after passing a strict medical examination, about 25 per cent. being, we are told, refused.

The following table indicates the mortality per cent. per annum amongst the male subscribers, their wives and widows :—

Age.	Male Subscribers.	Wives and Widows.
20—29	1.00	1.86
30—39	1.69	1.91
40—49	2.52	2.04
50—59	4.05	1.77
60—69	8.48	4.04
70—79	14.08	...

Up to 39, the mortality is lower than amongst the Covenanted Civil Servants according to Mr. Samuel Brown, late President of the Institute of Actuaries, a most experienced and competent authority, but, after 40, it is considerably in excess. As to the wives and widows, the death-rate is throughout in excess of that applicable to European Civil and Military Servants, according to the same authority. At ages 2, 3 and 4 the European children die faster than those of the Uncovenanted, but the sons of the latter throughout, up to 19, appear to be better lives.

These figures may be compared with the results of an enquiry into the same Fund by the writer of this article, which are given in columns 2 and 3 of the table on page 47.

The question of race is of the very essence of Mr. Finlaison's enquiry. The great bulk of the lives appear to be indigenous.

We have not seen Dr. Mouat's paper (*c*), but an abstract is given on page 207 of the Transactions of the British Association for 1875. The worthy Doctor, as is well-known, contends, that selected Europeans resident in India, are insurable at rates similar to those applicable to Englishmen in England, but he stands absolutely alone in that contention, no less than 25 different eminent authorities, numbering six ex-Presidents of the Institute of Actuaries, and two ex-Presidents of the Royal Statistical Society having recorded a contrary opinion. This particular point is very fully treated in the papers of 1874 and 1888, read before the East India Association, and the resulting discussions, which are fully reported in the Journals of the Association.

Mr. Meikle is the *Doyen* of British Actuaries, and his paper (*d*) is entitled to every consideration. His figures are applicable to lives in the Presidency of Bombay, European and Native, during the years 1865-1873, as obtained from the

Reports of the Health officer and the Censuses, with the following results :—

Years.	Deaths per 1,000.	
	Bombay.	England.
1865	23'1	23'2
1867	12'3	21'7
1869	20'5	22'3
1871	19'7	22'6
1873	17'9	

Mr. Meikle no doubt utilized the figures as he found them, but it is clear that his data must have been faulty. Why should the deaths in Bombay be about one-half what they were in England in 1873? Again the ratios for Bombay are not reproduced with anything like similarity from year to year, as is the case with like ratios for England, but, on the contrary, exhibit all sorts of eccentricities. We have not the text of the paper before us at the moment, but it is clear that the results cannot influence the present discussion.

Mr. Sprague's paper (e) has reference to 90 insured lives during a period of 18 years, presumably 1857-75, and the results, so far as they go, may of course be absolutely relied on. The lives are continued under observation, not only during residence in India, but also after retirement to Europe or elsewhere, a very important point for Insurance Offices. Without quoting the tables, the following general conclusions are arrived at :—(1), the figures are too limited to admit of absolute deductions, (2), but they indicate the line which future investigations on the subject ought to take. (3) Thus, the lives should continue under observation after retirement from India. (4) The figures support the view that the mortality during the first nine years was much in excess of what it was during the second nine years, and that hence there is a distinct tendency towards improvement of late years.

We have carefully gone through Dr. Bryden's bulky volumes (f), but although there is much that is interesting therein, there is little bearing on the point immediately under discussion. The figures having reference to the rank and file of the European and Native Armies of India, can hardly be accepted as a guide to the required assurance premiums for the whole European population of India.

The average strength of the European Army in India during the five years ended 1876, was 58,198.

The following is the annual death-rate per 1,000 of strength for the five years 1871-75 of the European Army in India, in relation to age ; the deaths during the voyage home and after arrival at Netley, being charged to India :—

Under 25	...	...	11.62
25 to 29	...	...	15.02
30 and upwards	...	...	25.28

Of the three Presidencies, Bombay is the healthiest ; then follows Madras, and lastly Bengal ; the difference being especially against the latter up to the age of 29.

The following is the annual death-rate per 1,000 of strength of the European Army in India :—

1864-1869	...	...	23.56
1871-1875	...	...	16.92

The following is the average annual death-rate, discriminating the Presidencies, for the five years 1871-75 of the European Army in India, per 1,000 of strength, in

Bombay	...	...	15.20
Madras	...	...	17.02
Bengal	...	...	18.50

For the five years ending 1876, it is given as :—

Bombay	...	...	11.57
Bengal	...	...	13.13
Madras	...	...	13.70

It will be seen that these figures compare very favourably with similar figures applicable to Europeans in India, elsewhere in this paper, and justify to a considerable extent Dr. Mouat's conclusions. The reasons appear to be chiefly (1) That the average age of the lives under observation is very low, only 2 per cent. of the whole strength of the Army being over 40. (2) That the utmost facility is given for invaliding to Europe. Thus taking the period 1871-75, more than 15½ per cent. were invalided during that time, all the sickly men being weeded out and sent home from year to year. (3) That a large proportion of the Army now obtains comparative immunity from risk, by removal, during the hot season especially, from the plains to a hill climate.

The annual death-rate per 1,000 of strength among the women of the European Regiments in India for the five years 1871-75 was 25.20, and among the children 71.43, of which latter, about a clear half die before attaining the age of one year.

During the period 1864-75. of the deaths amongst European soldiers, 69 per cent. were from fevers, dysentery, and hepatitis.

The conditions peculiar to women, and circumstances inseparable from a compulsory residence in India, seem to determine in

their case a death-rate much above that normal for the men. During the period 1860-69, the deaths amongst the women were 43·28 per 1,000, of which more than one-half were from cholera dysentery, and fevers. In the period 1871-75, it was 25·20 per 1,000, cholera had almost disappeared comparatively, about one-half of the deaths being still, however, from fever, dysentery, and cholera.

As to the children, on the experience of the period 1860-75, diarrhoea, convulsions, and dentition appear to carry off a clear half of them.

The period of the year in Bengal which is healthiest for Europeans, is most fatal to the Natives. The following is curious, indicating the mortality during the hot and cold months :—

HOT MONTHS.		COLD MONTHS.	
European Army of Bengal, 1860-69.	Native Army of Bengal, 1864-73.	European Army of Bengal, 1860-69.	Native Army of Bengal, 1864-73.
62·4	37·4	37·6	62·6

The hot months are from May to October, and the so-called cold months from November to April inclusive.

The death-rates per 1,000 during the 10 years 1867-76 in the Native Army of Bengal, are returned as varying from 20·41 in 1869 to 13·50 in 1874, a peculiar feature being that 20 per cent. of the Native mortality is from respiratory diseases, against 5 per cent. amongst Europeans.

In the Jails of the Bengal Presidency, the average death-rate per 1,000 during the 9 years 1859-67 was 29·48, and during the 9 years 1868-76, 15·62.

We give these figures as they are obtained from the Reports ; but there are many points which seem to require explanation. No details are given in the Reports as to who prepares and forwards the returns.

In the census of British India taken in 1881, (g) above, natives and persons belonging to other nationalities, so far as death-rate is concerned, are not discriminated.

The population of British India was in millions roughly as follows :—

Hindoos	...	188	Millions.
Mahomedans	...	50	do.
Aboriginals	...	6½	do.
Buddhists	..	3½	do.
Christians [nearly]	...	2	do.

There were also 85,397 Parsees. The English-speaking non-Native population is given at 203,558, including Eurasians. The adult British-born males were 77,173, of whom 55,800 were

in the Army. Thus, as compared with the huge Native population, the number of Europeans is so small as hardly to affect the results as to the whole population. After exhausting the enquiry, therefore, as to Europeans, we shall deal with Natives under a separate and distinct head.

Mr. Hardy's paper (*h*) also has reference exclusively to Natives, and we shall treat it under that head in the same way.

We have had the whole of the Annual Reports on Sanitary Measures in India (*i*) before us, and have examined more especially that last issued, comprising also "Miscellaneous Information up to June 1887," contained in Vol. XIX. The mortality amongst the general population all over India is given, as in 1884, at 26·44, and, as in 1885, at 26·12. The deaths per 1,000 per annum amongst the European troops in India, are given as follows:—

Period.	Mortality per 1,000 of strength.
1878-79	19·34
1878	21·46
1879	24·28*
1880	24·85†
1881	16·86
1882	12·07
1883	10·88
1884	12·56
1885	14·55‡

The deaths per 1,000 in the Native Army of India were in 1884, 10·50 ; and in 1885, 13·67 ‡

Mr. Justice Cunningham's paper (*k*) we have not seen, but there is an abstract of it in the *Daily News*, of 28th February 1888, which goes into the matter in very general terms, and from which we do not deem it necessary to quote.

Finally we come to (*l*) Mr. Meikle's Report on the Oriental Insurance Company of Bombay, for the triennium ending 31st December 1888.

This Company was established in Bombay in 1874, with a Capital paid up of £10,000, subsequently increased to £15,000 its speciality being the insurance of Native and European lives at a rate of premium applicable to European lives in India. It was the first Company to assure Natives to any large extent. The enterprise seems hitherto to have answered fairly well.

* Excluding troops serving in Afghanistan.

† Excluding troops on active service in Burmah.

‡ Including troops on service in Egypt, but excluding those on active service in Burmah.

As at 31st December 1889, the Funds were £413,250, the Premium Income £116,255, and interest £15,567, Sundries £201 or a total of £132,023;* while the New Premiums in 1889 were actually £20,507, the Expenses of Management being £17,094. The total Policies in force were for £2,722,190. Those of our readers who are familiar with such enterprises, will certainly recognise these as very considerable results.

But the important matter for present purposes, is as to the mortality of the Members. In the Report there is no Valuation Schedule similar to that required under our Act, nor does the Actuary give us any clue to the nationality of the Members, or the table of mortality used in his valuation. In a speech made by the Manager of the Company at the Meeting, he is reported to have said: "I attribute the present position of our business chiefly to the intelligent appreciation by the Native population of our system of Life Assurance." Then we find from the Indian Press † that during 1881, of the 966 Life Insurance proposals made to the Company, only 355 for £144,650 were from Europeans and Eurasians, and 611 for £203,978 were from Natives. Thus roughly two-thirds of the applicants were Natives, while the proportion of European to Native Assurance was as 3 to 4.

To all intents and purposes the Company is more likely to attract Natives than Europeans, and hence the mortality of the latter is a very curious and interesting problem. Financially the result of the valuation, which was what is known as a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. "nett" ‡ one, was satisfactory, a surplus of £18,000 having been assumed.

But independently of these Reports, we have elsewhere obtained absolutely trustworthy information as to the mortality amongst the insurants of this Company, to the effect that, as to Europeans, it is equal to 50 per cent. in excess of what is known as our "H. M.," or Healthy Males' Table, the most perfect known to Actuaries, and as to Natives, it is actually only equal to that under this "H. M." Table. The Policies in force at the end of 1889, were in number 9,501, quite sufficient as to lives for a very respectable average.

* Here and elsewhere throughout this article the rupee, both as to premiums and sums insured, is, as is usual in such cases, taken at the normal rate of 2s. sterling. At the moment the rate of Exchange, London or Calcutta, is about 1s. 5d. per rupee.

† Calcutta, *Englishman*, 16th May 1882.

‡ The "nett" "pure," or "normal" premium, as it is indiscriminately called in insurance phraseology, is the result obtained from the fundamental data of interest and mortality, without reference to any addition, or "loading," to cover charges of Management.

Collecting all these figures applicable to the period 1871-1890, and excluding Native lives, we have the following results placed so far as practicable in juxta-position :—

Mortality per cent. per annum amongst various Classes.

1871-1890.

Age.	S. BROWN.		A. T. FINLAISON.		HARDY.		T. E. YOUNG.	DR. FARR.	Age.	
	13 years ended 1863.	Of whom killed in Mutiny.	Male Subscribers.	Wives and Widows.	Barbadoes.	West Indies.	"Albert" assured Lives in India.	English Life Table Males 1841.		
	(s).	(t).	(u).	(v).	(w).	(x).	(y).	(z).		
20	1.07	.61	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.92	20	
25	1.80	.69	.....	.....	.84	1.05	1.35	.99	25	
30	1.51	.44	1.1	1.86	.....	.....	.....	.96	30	
35	1.88	.55	.....	.....	1.43	1.60	1.76	1.24	35	
40	1.08	.32	1.69	1.91	.....	.....	.....	1.21	40	
45	2.16	.23	.....	.....	1.84	2.32	.....	1.70	45	
50	2.46	.16	2.52	2.04	.....	.....	.....	1.85	50	
55	2.07	.....	.....	.....	3.17	3.55	.....	2.86	55	
60	4.26	.....	4.85	1.77	.....	.....	.....	3.40	60	

Columns (*s*) and (*t*) have reference to a paper (*a*) by Mr. Samuel Brown, late President of the Institute of Actuaries, read before the British Association at Bath in 1864. Columns (*w*), (*x*) and (*y*) were elicited in the discussion on Mr. Finlaison's paper, of which results in columns (*u*) and (*v*). These latter results, it must be mentioned, have reference to the decade ending at the previous age: thus at age 30, the figures cover the ages 20 to 29 inclusive, and so on. As to the "Albert Assured lives," column (*y*), these are the results of Assurances continued after fresh medical examination and at increased rates in the Commercial Union, on the failure of the former Company. Mr. Young, the Actuary of the Commercial Union, says: "The comparison runs in about the same manner to the end of the table."*

It will be seen, then, that there is not much to disturb the conclusions covered by the Statistics for the period 1858 to 1871, of which a Synopsis has been given.

The Report on the Census of India is a remarkable document. To all who have been in that marvellous Dependency, there are certain Chapters, as, for instance, that on "Caste," which tend to bring the whole scene again vividly before the mind's eye. Every body remembers a famous passage in *Macaulay's Essays*, where he says of Edmund Burke, that, although the latter had never been in India, his mind and fertile imagination enabled him to draw a more accurate and picturesque image of life in the cities and towns of that Dependency, than many whose home it had been for a lifetime. But for a most graphic and absolutely faithful picture of bazaar-life in a Great Indian city, we commend our readers to a passage in Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*, commencing:

" The painted streets alive with hum of noon,
The traders cross-legged 'mid their spice and grain,
The buyers with their money in the cloth,
The war of words to cheapen this or that
The shout to clear the road . . . "

and so on: we wish we had room for the whole passage. There is something pathetic, too, in the inexorable figures applicable to the British sojourners. Here are some 60,000 or 70,000 lads from the high-ways and bye-ways of England, and the hills and glens of Scotland, encamped in the midst of this stupendous population, between whom and themselves there is a great gulf fixed, wide as the poles asunder, in all that relates to social habits and religion. But we must pass on to the matter immediately in hand.

* Discussion Institute of Actuaries 26th March 1888.

The following table indicates the mortality per cent. per annum amongst the Natives of India :—

Age.	Males.	Females.
20—24	1·91	2·21
25—29	2·07	2·31
30—34	2·26	2·41
35—39	2·48	2·52
40—44	2·81	2·67
45—49	3·28	2·93
50—54	4·03	3·43
55—59	4·80	4·44
60—64	6·72	6·25
65—69	9·90	9·15
70—74	14·20	13·50
75—79	21·00	20·50

and the following table indicates the “expectation of life,” or mean after lifetime, applicable to every tenth year of age amongst the natives of India, as compared with similar results for England :—

Age.	India. Combined Provinces.		England. English Life Table.		Age.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
0	23·67	25·58	39·91	41·85	0
10	34·00	33·42	47·05	47·67	10
20	28·55	28·44	39·48	40·29	20
30	23·80	24·48	32·76	33·81	30
40	14·90	20·03	26·06	27·34	40
50	13·93	14·96	19·54	20·75	50
60	9·25	9·79	13·53	14·34	60
70	5·44	5·63	8·45	9·02	70
80	2·87	2·88	4·93	5·26	80
90	1·00	·91	2·84	3·01	90

Throughout the table, with certain trifling exceptions, the expectation of the female exceeds that of the male, just as it does in England, but the superiority of English life continues very manifest from birth to the extremity of life. This disparity, no doubt, arises largely from the extraordinary infantile mortality in India. At birth, in England, the "expectation" of a male is $39\frac{9}{10}$ years and a female $41\frac{8}{10}$ while in India it is only $23\frac{7}{10}$ and $25\frac{6}{10}$ respectively.

The following table shows the difference between the mortality of Europeans generally and the mortality of Natives of India. The table has reference to males only, the column applicable to England being according to Dr. Farr's observations, 1841.

Age.	Mortality per cent. per annum.		Age.
	India.	England. Farr, 1841.	
20	1·85	·92	20
30	2·18	·96	30
40	2·66	1·21	40
50	3·66	1·85	50
60	6·12	3·40	60
70	12·18	7·34	70

The mortality in India then is manifestly greatly in excess of what it is in Europe. Roughly, at ages 20 to 70, it is about double, and at the earlier ages very much more than double. The causes are chiefly, in all probability, the comparatively imperfect sanitary conditions obtaining in India, and the hereditary deficiency of stamina in the poorer classes of many Native races, arising in the main, no doubt, from a traditionally scanty and inferior supply of food.

It is to be observed that the expression "males" in the Census Report "includes all kinds and degrees of Natives" from the savage hill tribes, with their stone weapons for the purpose of warfare and the chase, to the cultivated Hindu or Mahomedan gentleman, who has taken his degree of M. A. at one of our great universities. These are the two extremes of the social scale in India, and we apprehend that there is no approach to any such disparity of condition in England, nor indeed, in any country of Europe. Thus, while the lives

of Natives of India are manifestly uninsurable in the mass at European, or, indeed, any other rates, we have the highest testimony to the fact that *selected* Native gentlemen, such as those comprising the heads of departments in the Government, in Commerce and in Law—Natives, in a word, who have “a local habitation and a name” can be insured at premiums not in excess of those applicable to Englishmen in India.

Passing on to consider the premiums for life insurance in India, by the kindness of a correspondent in Calcutta, the writer is able to supply the following list of Offices working in the Dependency :—

Office.	Estab- lished.	Life, Fire, or Marine.	Mutual or Pro- prietary.	Represen- ted in India.	Head Office.
Alliance	1824	L.F.	P.	A.	London.
Church of England	1840	L.F.	P.	A.	Do.
City of Glasgow	1838	L.	P.	A.	Glasgow.
Commercial Union	1861	L.F.M.	P.	B.B.	London.
Imperial	1820	L.	P.	A.	Do.
Liverpool & London & Globe	1836	L.F.	P.	A.	Do.
London & Lancashire	1862	L.	P.	B.B.	Do.
New York	1845	L.	M.	A.	New York.
North British & Mercantile ..	1823	L.F.	P.	B.B.	Edinburgh.
Northern	1836	L.F.	P.	A.	Aberdeen.
Oriental	1874	L.	P.	B.B.	Bombay.
Positive	1870	L.	P.	B.B.	London.
Provident	1806	L.	P.	A.	Do.
Queen	1857	L.F.	P.	B.B.	Liverpool.
Royal	1845	L.F.	P.	A.	Do.
Scottish Imperial	1865	L.	P.	A.	Glasgow.
Standard	1825	L.	P.	B.B.	Edinburgh.
Sun Life of India	1890	L.	P.	B.B.	London.
Universal	1834	L.	P.	B.B.	London.

The letters in the fifth column indicate whether the office has a Branch Board in India, or is merely represented by Agencies. The number of those Offices which really do any business may be counted on the fingers of one hand, but we have considered it desirable to include every Company, which is in any way represented.

The following table shows what is now charged on the non-profit scale for a whole-life assurance, so far as we have been able to obtain the particulars. We must refer our readers to works on assurance for an explanation of what is meant by “without-profit” rates of premium for insurance. This expression, in a word, has reference to the prime cost of such assurance, and is, therefore, for our immediate purpose, the fairest standard of comparison, as between one Office and another :—

ANNUAL NON-PROFIT PREMIUMS IN £ s. d. TO INSURE £100 OR RS. 1,000 THE RUPEE BEING TAKEN AT TWO SHILLINGS STERLING BOTH FOR PREMIUMS AND SUM ASSURED.
Synopsis of the Life Assurance Premiums for Europe and India, corrected to the latest Dates.

Age	Church of England (a).			Commercial Union (b).			London & Lancashire (c).			North British & Mercantile (d).			Oriental (e).		
	Europe.	Civil.	Military.	Europe.	Civil.	Military.	Europe.	Civil.	Military.	Europe.	Civil.	Military.	Europe.	Civil.	Military.
20	.. 8	2 18 3	.. 7	1 14 0	2 15 0	3 5 0	1 12 10	2 10 0	.. 5	1 12 11	2 15 0	3 5 0	1 13 5	2 14 0	3 3 0
25	2 1 8	3 4 0	3 16 0	1 18 5	3 0 0	3 10 0	..	2 12 5	3 2 5	1 17 6	3 0 0	3 10 0	1 17 6	2 19 5	3 6 7
30	2 8 7	3 4 0	3 16 0	2 3 7	3 7 6	3 17 6	2 2 11	2 16 2	..	2 3 0	3 7 6	3 17 6	2 2 8	3 4 9	3 12 0
35	2 17 0	3 11 4	4 2 9	2 9 6	3 15 0	4 5 0	..	3 2 2	3 12 2	2 9 2	3 15 0	4 5 0	2 9 1	3 12 0	3 17 5
40	3 9 8	4 0 7	4 11 6	2 17 2	4 5 0	4 15 0	2 17 2	3 10 11	..	2 17 3	4 5 0	4 15 0	2 17 3	4 1 0	4 4 6
45	4 4 10	4 12 0	5 2 1	3 6 0	4 16 0	5 6 0	..	4 2 0	4 12 0	3 6 5	4 16 0	5 6 0	3 7 10	4 11 9	4 15 5
50	5 3 3	5 6 4	5 15 10	3 18 9	5 11 0	6 1 0	3 19 8	4 15 5	.. 4	3 19 9	5 11 0	6 1 0	4 2 4	5 6 2	5 9 10
55	6 3 6	6 5 10	6 14 1	4 18 0	6 12 0	7 2 0	5 0 0	5 15 4	6 5 4	5 0 0	6 12 0	7 2 0	5 1 0	6 4 2	6 7 10
60	7 1 5	7 16 0	8 1 10	6 4 4	..	..	6 7 5	..	..	6 3 1	..	..	6 8 0	7 9 5	7 13 0
65	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8 1 10	9 7 0	9 10 10

(a) No statement in prospectus, but presumption is that these are non-profit rates.

(b) Indian Civil rates cover, as a rule, residence in any part of the world. Military rates cover active service in any part of the world. 15 per cent. extra on premium, for Native lives.

(c) Military rates, covering all risks, are one-half per cent. on sum assured higher than the Civil rates. Natives taken at Rupees 5 per 1,000 in excess of above.

(d) These Military rates cover war and climate risk in any part of the world. Adds 5 years to age for Native lives.

(e) These rates are also applicable to insurance of Native lives as Hindoos and Mahomedans; also to Parsees and Eurasians.

Age	Positive (f).			Queen (g).			Standard (h).			Universal (i).		
	Europe.	Civil.	Military.	Europe.	Civil.	Military.	Europe.	Civil.	Military.	Europe.	Civil.	Military.
20	1 13 0	2 18 10	.. 5	2 11 2	3 7 11	.. 4	2 11 4	3 1 4	.. 4	1 14 10	2 12 0	3 2 0
25	1 17 5	3 4 0	3 10 5	2 14 8	3 11 8	.. 8	2 16 6	3 6 6	.. 6	1 19 0	3 0 0	3 10 0
30	2 2 11	3 10 4	.. 5	2 19 5	3 15 2	.. 2	3 4 4	3 14 4	.. 4	2 4 0	3 4 0	3 14 0
35	2 9 10	3 18 1	4 5 11	3 5 5	3 18 9	.. 9	3 12 3	4 2 3	.. 3	2 9 6	3 12 0	4 2 0
40	2 18 10	4 7 9	.. 9	3 12 4	4 3 9	.. 9	4 3 0	4 13 0	.. 0	2 16 9	4 2 0	4 12 0
45	3 10 5	4 19 9	5 9 9	4 0 11	4 10 9	.. 9	4 16 8	5 6 8	.. 8	3 5 0	4 10 0	5 0 0
50	4 6 0	5 15 2	.. 7	4 13 5	5 1 2	.. 2	5 18 0	6 8 0	.. 0	3 17 0	5 2 0	5 12 0
55	5 6 4	6 15 1	7 8 7	5 11 2	5 16 10	.. 10	..	..	..	4 15 3	6 4 0	6 14 0
60	6 14 6	8 1 6	.. 11	..	..	..	..	..	..	5 19 11	7 18 0	8 8 0
65	..	9 17 3	10 18 11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

(f) Rates are applicable to Europeans only. Naval and Military lives are 10 per cent. higher than the Civil rates. These are profit rates, non-profit not given. 10 per cent. extra on premium for Native lives.

(g) Military rates cover active service in any part of the world.

(h) Europeans born and reared in India females, "and certain" others are charged special extras. See Prospectus or Military rates. 10 per cent. added as above for Native lives.

(i) Indian Military rates cover active service in India and elsewhere. Adds 5 years to age for Native lives.

These, as we have said, are the "non-profit rates." What are called the "with-profit rates" are simply Premiums in excess of the estimated prime cost, that excess being returnable to policy-holders in the proportion of 75, 80, 90, or 95 per cent., as the case may be, of the whole profits realized at intervals, varying from one to seven years. These "with-profit rates," eventually, in many cases, offer possibly a better bargain to policy-holders than the "non-profit rates;" but that enquiry is too complicated to be undertaken here, and might lead to endless controversy with the different Offices interested. We have preferred to quote the non-profit scale, as being sufficiently fair to all concerned, and for every immediate practical purpose.

The following table is a condensation of the preceding, so as to bring the points into closer relation, but we warn our readers, that they must not come to any definite conclusion as to the merits of any particular Office, without reading the Prospectus and Form of Policy proposed to be issued. The matter, even as we have endeavoured to simplify it, is a good deal more complicated than at first sight appears:—

Life Assurance Premiums for India corrected to the latest dates.

Mean of the Civil and Military Annual Rates for Assurance of £100, or Rs. 1,000, without participation in Profits.

Ages.											
25			35			45			55		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	d.	s.
3	4	5	3	17	0	4	17	0	6	9	11
3	5	0	4	0	0	5	1	0	6	17	0
2	17	5	3	7	2	4	7	0	6	0	4
3	5	0	4	0	0	5	1	0	6	17	0
3	3	0	3	14	8	4	13	7	6	6	0
3	7	2	4	2	0	5	4	9	7	1	10
3	3	2	3	12	1	4	5	10	5	14	0
3	1	6	3	17	3	5	1	8	...		
3	5	0	3	17	0	4	15	0	6	9	0

Those of our readers or their friends, who contemplate an Indian career, and propose to insure their lives, should consult the three preceding tables, which taken in connexion with the corresponding prospectuses, may be considered as quite exhaustive on the subject, so far as non-profit whole-life premiums

are concerned. The rates also in certain cases apply to Native gentlemen as well as Europeans. On retiring to Europe, insurants, (it must be borne in mind,) are placed on the European rate applicable to the age at which the policy was effected. Hence, a critical study of the European rates and conditions of assurance, is of as much importance as an examination of the terms applicable to India,

We have only to add, that we have no interest in any particular Office, either as Director, Shareholder, Policy-holder, or otherwise.

Behold then the conclusion of the above matter :—

The results as to European mortality in India, where not obtained by trained actuarial experts, are to be received with great reserve.

The *dictum* that assured lives of Europeans residing in that country, are subject roughly to a death-rate, 50 per cent. all round in excess of the "H.M." results, is near the truth.

Thus, taking the Office whose terms for assurance are lowest, the average premiums at ages 25 to 55 inclusive, are 55 per cent. in excess of those for England.

In the absence of the figures in detail, no Office as yet insures even "selected" Natives of India at similar rates to those applicable to Englishmen in England. The Offices have been looking forward with great interest to the results shewn in this year's census of India, and propose continuing their investigations later on.

ART. V.—JOURNEY OF PADRE MANUEL GODINHO
S. J. FROM INDIA TO PORTUGAL, IN THE
YEAR 1663, BY WAY OF MESOPOTAMIA.

IF we had a Hakluyt Society in India, the whole of Padre Godinho's journey from India, through the Persian Gulf, to Bosrah, thence through Mesopotamia to the Port of Alexandria, by the Mediterranean to Marseilles, and from France to Portugal, might be published. Such, however, not being the case, I avail myself of the hospitality of the *Calcutta Review* to present the most interesting portions of the narrative to its readers.

This Jesuit father was sent by the Viceroy of Portuguese India to the Court of Portugal, probably on a political mission, to inform it of the losses incurred by the Crown, by land and sea, and in commercial affairs, in consequence of the encroachments, in Asia, of other European nations, chiefly the English and the Hollanders; though he abstains from alluding to the objects of his mission. He left India in December 1662, and arrived, at the end of October 1663, at the Court of Portugal, where he must have met with a very favourable reception, since he afterwards left the Society of Jesus and became a secular priest. Secularisations being even less frequent among Jesuits, than among other religious orders, and more disliked by them, Padre Godinho must have obtained permission to leave the Society in Rome, through the intercession of the Court of Portugal.

When Padre Godinho left India he was greatly impressed with the diminution of the Portuguese territories, and he compares the Portuguese power in Asia to the four stages of human life,—namely, infancy, youth, manhood, and old age. Its infancy began with the discovery of India by D. Vasco da Gama, during the reign of the King D. Manuel, and lasted 24 years, till that monarch's death. During the reign of D. Manuel, Goa and Malacca were taken from the Moslems; the forts of Ormuz, Cochin, Calicut, Maldiva, Socotra, Angediva, Quilon, Colombo, Chaul, Paiem, Ternate, Cranganore and Sofala were built, and the kings of Ormuz, of Tidore, of Ceylon, of the Maldive, of Melinde, of Zanzibar, &c., became tributary; whilst others sought peace and desired to trade with the Portuguese.

Brief account of the rise and decline of Portuguese power.

The youth of Portuguese India extended through the 35 years of the reign of D. João III, during which it grew and expanded. Towns were founded and establishments set up in the territories of friendly kings who ceded sites for them, or in such as were conquered by arms. Among these were, on the Coromandel Coast, the city of St. Thomé, or Meliapore, of Negapatam and of Jafnapatam, the capital of a kingdom, which belonged for many years to the Portuguese; in the Island of Ceylon, the towns and forts of Galle, Negumbo, Baticola and Trinquinale, and, on the northern coast, the towns of Bassein and Damaon, with many villages along the whole coast of Cambay, which still belonged to Portugal. The forts of Diu, of Chale in Malabar, and of Maçao in China, were built. Victories were as numerous as the battles fought, and the latter as many as the days of the year. By sea and by land the Portuguese alternately conquered the Zamorin, the king of Bantam, the Sultan Bahadur of Cambay, the kings of Acheen, Mangalore, and many others.

The age of perfect manhood was reached in the reign of D. Sebastião, and lasted from 1561 till 1600. At that time the tendency of the Portuguese was already rather to conserve old, than to make new, conquests. Nevertheless, a fort was built at Mombassa, to ensure the possession of that country; three in the Canara province, *viz.* Mangalore, Barielore and Onore; one at Sirião in Pegu, with the forts of Sena and Jete on the rivers of Cuama; and the town of Golim in Bengal. The Portuguese fought valiantly to defend their possessions against their enemies, who attacked them with powerful armies. Adil Khan, of Bijapur, assaulted Goa, and the Nizam of Chaul, the Zamorin of Châle, and the king of Acheen besieged Malacca; but all these attacks were repulsed. This epoch of Portuguese India is considered to have been the most flourishing, because, after conquering or pacifying its foes, the State enjoyed all the blessings of peace. The ships of the Portuguese now sailed with safety in every sea, being no longer exposed to attack by the Moslems as formerly, as they had secured the command of the principal sea routes, partly by building forts on shore, but chiefly by their fleets. Rich fleets arrived from Japan laden with silver; from China they brought gold, silks and musk; from the Moluccas cloves; from Sunda spices and nutmegs; from Bengal all kinds of costly cloths; from Pegu valuable rubies; from Ceylon cinnamon; from Masulipatam diamonds; from Manar pearls and seed-pearls; from Acheen benzoin; from the Maldives amber; from Jafnapatam elephants; from Cochin raw hides; from Malabar pepper and ginger; from Canara provisions; from Solor wood; from Borneo camphor; from Madura saltpetre; from Cambay indigo and cloths; linsey

from Chaul, incense from Caxem ; horses from Arabia ; carpets from Persia, with all kinds of silks ; aloes from Socotra ; gold from Sofala ; ivory, ebony and amber from Mozambique, and from Ormuz, Diu and Malacca great sums of money, paid as duties by ships navigating in those regions. In fine, there was nothing of value in the whole coast which did not reach the Portuguese dominions, by way either of commerce, or of tribute.

With the year 1600 commenced the decline of the Portuguese dominions. Henceforth they lost strength, and became gradually so weak that their bravery and greatness in the past were known only from chronicles and from the ruins they had left. During these 64 years of her old age and decay, Portugal no longer possessed the fleets which had hitherto commanded the seas ; her soldiers had lost their bravery, her captains their prudence, her enterprizes their success, and her ministers their zeal. The various Powers which deprived Portugal of her territories were the following :—The Hollanders first took the fort of Amboina, and then the forts of Ternate and of Tidore in the Molucca Islands ; then Malacca on the east coast of Juntana, with Galle, Trinquinale, Baticola, Negumbo, Calacature and Colombo ; the fort of Jafnapatam, with all the surrounding country ; the islet of Manar, near the island of Ceylon, celebrated for its pearl fishery ; the captaincy of Tuticorin ; the town of Negapatam ; the forts of Quilon, Cranganore and Cannanore, and the city of Cochin. If peace had not been concluded, the Hollanders would have made even more conquests.

The English, although they had not deprived the Portuguese of so many places as the Hollanders, were the first European nation who attacked them in India, and, by aiding the Persians to conquer Ormuz, they prepared the way for the losses which followed. Of the kings of India there were but few who, on perceiving the decline of the Portuguese power, remained friendly, or did not begin hostilities by ejecting the Portuguese from their territories and occupying their forts, more by starving their garrisons than by force of arms. Thus the king of Arracan took possession of the fort of Sirião in Pegu ; the Grand Moghal of the town of Golim in Bengal ; the king of Persia of Ormuz ; the king of Golconda of the town of Meliapore, *i.e.*, St. Thomé ; Sivapa Nayik of the forts of Mangalore, Barielore, Onore and Cambolim in the Canara country ; the Imam of Arabia Felix of the town of Maskat, with the whole coast from Ras-ul-Hadd to Cape Mussendon, which is 87 leagues in extent, and contained six Portuguese forts, namely, Coriat, Datará, Soar, Corfassao, Libidia and Doba. Other kings compelled the Portuguese to dismantle and evacuate the forts they possessed in their territories ; as, for

instance, those of Chale and Calicut in the Malabar country. Some forts were abandoned on account of the trouble of maintaining them, such as Socotra and Angediva, the forts of Sibö, Borea, Quelba and Mada in Arabia, of Vairevene in Sind, of Quilöa in Africa, and of Paiem in Sumatra.

Padre Godinho, no doubt, started from the seat of Government, though he regards Bassein as the place from which he began his travels.

Beginning of the journey. This locality, which is at present in ruins and only a village, sometimes visited by excursionists from Bombay, was then a large city and the capital of Western India. The city of Bassein was surrounded by thick and high walls, with eleven bastions, and a broad fosse. It possessed not only noble edifices, but also noble families, there not being an illustrious house in Portugal of which some descendants could not be found there. Enamoured with the beautiful situation and the salubrious climate, the best fidalgos of India married there, to enjoy the large incomes they derived from the villages which the king had bestowed upon them for their services, and their estates were inherited by their offspring. There were 300 Portuguese and 400 native Christian families, besides many Hindus and Moslems, not to mention the surrounding district, which furnished 5,000 armed men. Within the walls there were four convents, belonging to the Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits respectively ; also two Parish churches, one the Cathedral, and another, with four beneficed clergymen, and various churches outside the walls. In its secular affairs the city was governed by a Captain, who had under him twelve others, commanding the garrisons of the forts and trenches which defended the estates and islands in the district of Bassein. In spiritual matters, it was governed by a Vigario da Vara ; in judicial affairs by an Ouvidor with the same extent of jurisdiction as the Captain. The revenues were administered by a Feitor, whom the king appointed. All these offices, excepting that of the Vigario da Vara, were triennial.

The environs of Bassein, and the neighbouring estates, were full of tanks and plantations stocked with all kinds of Indian fruits, in which this city excelled all the other northern localities, as it did also in the great quantity of cane sugar produced and sold to foreigners. Rice was equally abundant, constituting the ordinary food in those parts, and was exported from Bassein in all directions. Wheat was not produced in the territory, but a great deal of it arrived from the country of the Moslems, who brought it in caravans consisting of from 10 to 20,000 bullocks, reloading them with salt, which they took back. There was also great abundance of timber, which arrived by water, and, for this reason, all the fustas of the oar-fleets maintained in

India were built in the Bassein river. Very beautiful and strong galleys, galeots and patachos were constructed of teak-wood, the superintendents being Portuguese and the workmen natives.

In consequence of the disastrous wars with the Hollanders, not a single vessel could be found in any of the Portuguese harbours in which to embark for Persia. On the other hand,

Journey to Surat for embarkation.

the Arabs, the masters of the straits, had intimidated the merchants, whom experience had taught that, if they escaped from the Hollanders in the Indian Ocean, they were in danger of falling into the hands of the Arabs, either in the Red Sea, or in the Persian Gulf. Accordingly Padre Godinho, who desired to sail to Persia, was under the necessity of looking for a ship in Surat, which was a Moghal port. He left Bassein on the 15th December 1662, and, passing, in his northward journey, through a few villages along the coast still belonging to the Portuguese, he reached Damaon, which he found surrounded by walls 30 feet high and 20 thick, with ten strong bastions and about forty cannons and other pieces of artillery. The moat of the fort was connected with the river and had to be crossed by a drawbridge. On the other side of the river, on its bank, was the fort S. Jeronymo, higher than Damaon, and garrisoned by 60 soldiers under the command of a Captain. Most of the buildings of the town were low, the inhabitants being prohibited from making them higher than the walls, because, in former sieges, they had been exposed to the fire of the enemy, but the streets were broad and regular. There were two Parochial Churches, the Cathedral and another, with four convents, of as many religious Orders, and, strangely enough, the Rector of the Jesuit College was at the same time also administrator of the works of the fortress. The Portuguese houses had dwindled from a much larger number to one hundred, many of the residents having died of contagious diseases which were attributed to the vapours arising from the excavation of the moat. The black population was much more numerous, and the jurisdiction of Damaon furnished a Contingent of 3,000 armed natives, partly infantry and partly cavalry. The Portuguese of Damaon were good horsemen, as most of them held villages on condition of maintaining Arab horses. The temporal matters of the city were administered by a Captain appointed by the King of Portugal; the spiritual affairs by a Vigario da Vara; justice by an Ouvidor, and finances by a Feitor, who was at the same time also the chief magistrate.

Padre Godinho staid in Damaon only till he could get a Mahomedan costume prepared. This he considered more suitable than that of a soldier, as he desired to sail to Persia in a Moslem ship, and ordinary clothes would have exposed

him to the notice of the Europeans of Surat, while the Arabs of the sea would have recognized him as a Portuguese, so that his life would have been in danger. So he exchanged his long sword for a sabre, his hat for a turban, his coat for a long robe, and the company of two Padres who had travelled with him as far as Damaon, for that of a Persian, called Mahmud Shah, and a Brahman, Ramaji Sinoy by name, with whom he departed in a small cart from Damaon to Surat. He was delighted, along the road, by the numerous rich Hindu and Moslem villages and the multitude of antelopes which he saw, as well as with the conversation of the Brahman, who was a doctor of his sect and also acquainted with the tenets of the Christian religion. The travellers reached Surat the next day.

On arriving at the gates, the Padre was immediately met by several guards of the Custom-house. They took him to an official who showed him much politeness, merely because he had presented him with a lump of white wax from Goa, which he had noticed in his baggage. Padre Godinho took up his lodgings with the French bearded Capuchins, who told him that the ships of the first monsoon, which depart in December and January, had already sailed. This news disgusted him, and he remained longer in Surat than he had anticipated; but, apprehending that his life was in danger, he abstained from making himself known, till he found a ship in which he embarked for Persia.

The Hollanders and the English had made Surat, which was a poor town and harbour in former times, the greatest city and the most celebrated emporium of India, or even of the whole East. In a little bay called Soali, one league distant from the river Tapti, the English and Dutch vessels which arrived there, cast anchor so close to the shore, that they could, with their guns, protect their boats in landing cargo. There these two nations also had their magazines, to which they sent their goods. In this bay numerous battles were fought by the Portuguese fleets against the Hollanders, as well as the English, but never successfully. The most severe of these was the encounter of 'D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, the twentieth Viceroy of Portuguese India,* who attacked the Hollanders in Soali. The Hollanders had 4 ships and the Portuguese fleet 6 galleons, 3 pataxos, and 60 rowing boats. The latter retired after the contest, with the loss of the 3 pataxos, which were burnt.

The city of Surat contained more than 100,000 inhabitants,

* See *Calcutta Review*, 1881, October, p. 350. He was Viceroy from December 1612 till 1617.

consisting of Moghals, Hindustani Moslems, Hindus of every caste, and Christians of various nations ; in fine, people of the whole world, who were either permanently settled there, or came for the purpose of trading. Most of the houses were low and thatched with palm leaves only. But it contained some noble and elegant houses belonging to the wealthier inhabitants, which, although plain externally, were ornamented within, displaying gold-embroidered tapestry, with rich pictures, on the walls, exquisite furniture, and the richest carpets, and, instead of chairs, cushions of the finest silk stuffs, to recline upon. They had also gardens with fountains. The Banians, on the other hand, paid more attention to the external, than to the internal decoration of their houses. They were built of stone and cemented with lime to the first storey, above which only carpenters' work was to be seen, with sculptures in relief, in teak-wood, painted in various colours.

There were numerous mosques in the city, but the largest of all, with some other noble edifices, was situated outside the gates. Not less sumptuous were the two caravanserais of Surat, built in the form of cloisters, with numerous apartments, but accessible by only one gate, which was closed at sunset and opened at dawn, for the safety of the goods stored in them. A spacious bath, with many chambers, for Moslems is also worth mentioning. It had numerous attendants, who were paid by the city to heat the water and to wait upon the bathers without requiring any remuneration from them.

There were walls ; but they neither surrounded the whole city, nor were very high ; and there were four gates, each with many guards, so that every person arriving with baggage might be taken to the Custom-house to pay duty for it ; the people who left the city were obliged to present a writing from the Custom-house official, before they could pass out. There were two Custom-houses near the river, opposite to each other, the one for examining goods arriving by sea, and the other for those imported by land. There were also other Custom-houses, or rather offices of discharge, along the bank of the river, for the goods to be exported. The duty paid at the Custom-house was 5 per cent. ; but the Moghal then governing made an exception in favour of the Hollanders, who paid one per cent. less than other people, because Mansucar, the Governor of Jacatara, had, in the name of the Company, presented him, in the year 1661, with some rich and curious pieces of cloth.

The defences of Surat consisted of a citadel on the river-bank, which had three bastions, and, in its centre, a fortlet

with 20 pieces of artillery, some brass and some iron, but all unserviceable, being without gun-carriages and in bad condition. The moat of the citadel was very deep, but not broad, and the garrison consisted of 200 land-lascars, commanded by a Captain, who was independent of the Nawab or Governor of the town, but who could not come out of the fort unless by the special permission of the Great Moghal. This Captain was, moreover, the treasurer of many millions of money, all the revenues of the province being deposited in the fort of Surat, as well as the duties paid at the Custom-houses, and a great portion of the money which was continually being coined at the mint of the city, and was reputed the finest in all India, inasmuch as the Patacas—*i e.*, dollars of Spain—and the Laris of Persia, which are of very fine silver, were purified there, to coin their rupees, which were equivalent to the Portuguese Cruzados. At sunrise and sunset drums were daily beaten in the fort, and no houses were allowed to be built near it; there was, however, an open space where, every afternoon, a fair was held at which all kinds of victuals could be bought.

Surat was considered by Padre Godinho to be not only the greatest emporium in India, but the richest in the whole world, as goods were brought from all parts by land as well as by sea. Caravans of oxen and camels conveyed the best wares of India to Surat, which they entered every hour. The merchants and men of business were so rich that some of them possessed five or six millions of rupees, and they were owners of 50 ships sailing in every direction, whilst those from foreign parts were numberless.

During the incumbency of Mathias de Albuquerque, as the fifteenth Viceroy of Portuguese India, which lasted from the year 1590 till 1597, the English made their first appearance in the country,* and the Hollanders during the incumbency of Ayres de Saldanha, the seventeenth Viceroy, who governed from 1600 till 1605. † When Padre Godinho was in Surat, the English maintained a mercantile establishment there under a President, and the Hollanders one under a Commandant. The Hollanders, who had other and better harbours in the south, did not trade as much as the English, who possessed no other locality for receiving their ships, except Madras, the roadstead of which was insecure and much exposed.

The political government of the whole province and city of Surat was centred in one individual, called the Nawab, who always happened to be one of the courtiers of the Grand Moghal. He never showed himself in public except with

* See *Calcutta Review* 1881, October, p. 349.

† *Ibidem.*

great pomp, accompanied by nobles on horseback and soldiers on foot, elephants, armed camels, and numerous led horses. At the time Padre Godinho happened to be there, the Nawab was a venerable Persian, much addicted to hunting the panther, a taste which cost him his appointment; for the Grand Moghal, having been informed that he was much abroad, engaged in the chase, instead of attending to his duties in the town, sent him a successor. The Grand Moghal kept a spy in Surat, for the purpose of watching the Nawab, as well as other officials, and reporting their doings, to the minutest particulars, every week. At that time there were no longer any Jesuits in Surat, because, whenever the Moghals had any claims upon the Portuguese, they imprisoned the Padres, thus obliging the Viceroy to comply with their demands, for fear of jeopardising the lives and the liberty of the captives. In lieu of the Jesuits, two bearded French Capuchin Fathers had been sent by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to Surat, where they maintained a chapel in their own house, to which the Catholics resorted to hear mass.* At that time there were many Dervishes, Qalandars and Yogis in Surat; but Padre Godinho was chiefly struck by the habits of the latter, which he describes as follows:—"They always wander about the country like gypsies, some in ragged and patched garments, but others entirely nude, or with a piece of cloth on the parts which modesty requires to be concealed; but although they cover a portion of their body from shame, they have very little of it in other respects, holding, like Cynic philosophers, that nature does nothing unbecoming. They walk about covered with ashes from head to foot. The cow, from whose dung these ashes are made, provides them also with water wherewith they perform their ablutions from time to time. They have neither house nor bed, and sleep on the ground in the open air. They not only despise the luxuries of food and raiment, but also lead such lives of penance as to astonish and excite pity. Some walk about naked, with heavy iron chains round their necks or bodies; others get themselves buried alive near public roads, leaving only a hole for breathing and a tube through which *conji*, i. e. rice-water can be poured into their mouths; others become Stylites, by taking up a position on columns or tree-trunks, whence they do not descend till death relieves them. Others again get themselves suspended on poles by sharp hooks inserted between their nude ribs, and chant hymns to their gods."

* In 1664, when Sivaji plundered Surat, Father Ambroise, the Superior of the Capuchins, obtained his protection, and also enjoyed the favour of the Governor.—See *Calcutta Review*, 1882, July, p. 96: "*Mandelslo and Thevenot: their Travels in India.*"

Padre Godinho had seen a number of Yogis in Surat. One of them had been holding up his hands for ten years, and their joints had become so stiff that he could no longer lower them, even if he wished. His fists were so tightly closed that the nails, growing through, had pierced them and were protruding. There was another who kept only one arm elevated; and another who never sat down during the day or night, his only repose consisting in his taking hold of a rope which was stretched between two windows, and swinging from one side to the other. Our traveller was curious to see how these Yogis, with uplifted hands, ate and slept, and, paying them a visit by night, he observed that certain boys of their own class placed food in their mouths, and that Banians brought many sacks of cow-dung with which they kindled a fire, around which the Yogis sat, and thus spent the night.

If, perchance, a Yogi happened to take offence at some one for insulting him, or not providing him with what he asked for, he uttered imprecations against the locality, whereon all the inhabitants went in procession, requesting him to pardon the offender, and to revoke his curse, which they feared would soon overtake them. But the Yogis were as much feared as respected, for when they had taken offence, two or three thousand would assemble to take revenge, and for that purpose they always first elected one of their number to be their leader. All the Yogis were great wizards, and pretended to be acquainted with medicine, although they had only a knowledge of herbs. They prepared the so-called cobra-stone, which was considered to be the best antidote against the sting of any reptile in India. The Yogis carried about also other green stones which were said to produce the same effect as the one just mentioned, but they had to be placed in the mouth. The Padre was of opinion that only those were in the possession of medical science who had studied it in European Universities, and thence passed to the kingdoms of Madura and Maisûr, where they practised it dressed in the garb of Indian Yogis, in order to obtain better access to the natives and to convert them to the Christian Faith, thus becoming gymnosophists of souls. He states that the Society of Jesus contained many of these philosophers, who laboured in the kingdoms named.

The month of January 1663 had already come to an end, but the ship in which the Padre had engaged his passage could not sail until the Nakhoda, or Captain, had satisfied his creditors, who insisted on being paid. At last the Padre received a message to come in a boat to the vessel, which was already outside the bar. The companions whom our traveller took with him to sea were M. Blasi, a French

Voyage from Surat to
Bosiah.

clergyman, expelled by the Theatine Fathers of Goa, who lived in Surat, and whom he took away at his own expense, but also for the advantage of having a confessor with him, from which it would appear that the said Theatine monk was, perhaps, not considered guilty by Padre Godinho. The second companion was Mahmúd Shah, the Persian who had come with him from Bassein, where he had left a brother as security, as it were, for the person of the Padre. There were also two Musalman servants to wait upon him during the voyage.

Proceeding down the river Tapti, the boat reached the ship in a very brief time without the use of sails or oars, the current of the bay being very rapid. The ship had been built at Cochin, and afterwards sold to a merchant of Surat. It carried fourteen pieces of artillery, of which, however, only two were in position on the poop, the ship being full of cargo, which reached half way up the mast and covered the guns. But, as if this had not been enough, the Nakhoda took three boat-loads more on board, against the opinions of his officers and the protests of the merchants, as well as of the passengers. The sailors trifled away three days in attempting to arrange the cargo, but as it was evidently more than the vessel could carry, the Nakhoda at last consented to send some of it on shore again in his own boat.

Anchor was weighed on the 5th February, and the ship sailed for sixteen days with a favourable wind towards the Persian Gulf, when it was overtaken by a calm. The Moors could not be persuaded that the sudden cessation of wind was accidental, but said it was a punishment from God and the Prophet, because some polluted individual was on board. The Nakhoda, who was of the same opinion, ordered all hands to jump into the sea for ablution, and was the first to set the example, which the others followed, either under compulsion or willingly. When the Nakhoda returned to the ship, he urged Padre Godinho and his French companion also to purify themselves, and not to give offence to the people; when, all of a sudden, a fish attacked a boy who was swimming about, and would have bitten off his arm if he had not been rescued. After the Nakhoda had rescued the boy, he ceased to trouble the Padres.

The first means of procuring wind having proved unsuccessful, another attempt was made, which consisted in suspending a little wooden horse by a very long sail from the stern of the vessel, with the beating of drums and blowing of flutes; strangely enough, as soon as the little horse had been placed in position with the head towards the north, a furious wind commenced to blow in that direction, and drove the ship in one day and-a-half from the Kuria Muria islands to Cape

Ras-al-hadd. On sighting the land, three anchors were cast, for fear of touching it, so near was the vessel to the shore. This tempest lasted six days without interruption. The vessel creaked, the shrouds became slack, the cables snapped, and everybody feared the ship would be wrecked, but the Padre trembled more than any one else, because he apprehended that, if he were to be cast on shore alive, the Imam of Maskat, who was a cruel enemy of the Portuguese, would put him to death. At last, however, the storm subsided, and the ship, entering the straits of Ormuz, was carried by a land-breeze to the bar of Maskat in two short days.

Padre Godinho describes Maskat, although he had not visited it, and deploras the loss of it to the Portuguese, whose chief fortress it had been on the coast of Arabia; but his lamentations about Ormuz are not less doleful, for he says:—"The next day, the 1st of March, we found ourselves between the islands of Larak and Ormuz. When my eyes alighted upon them, I confess that I was unable to restrain my tears." He could not look round without causes for sorrow presenting themselves to his view; because, on the mainland of Persia, appeared Gambroon, namely, Bandar Abbas, near which the Portuguese had in former times a stronghold, which defended itself, in 1602, against 15,000 Persians, but was now lost.

Bandar Abbas was then more frequented by ships from India than any other harbour in the Persian Gulf, as it had supplanted Ormuz in trade, although the port there is nothing more than a slight curvature of the seashore. The place contained 2,000 inhabitants, Arabs, Persians, and Banians from Cambay. Most of the houses were of earth, with flat-roofs. Many, however, were built of stone and lime, and all had on their terraces, a kind of wind-sail, open at the sides, to catch the breeze and convey it into the lower apartments. These wind-catchers looked from a distance like so many steeples, and imparted an imposing appearance to the locality. The handsomest houses in the place were those of the English and the Hollanders, built after the fashion of convents, with cloisters and magazines all round, for storing the goods purchased or for sale. About twenty Hollanders and as many Englishmen always resided there, but they had to be frequently replaced by new men, the climate, which is most pestilential, as well as the insupportable heat, killing them like flies. These merchants kept their flags hoisted high, that they might be seen by all comers. English goods were excused from paying one-half of the Custom duties; and those which bore the stamp of the East India Company paid none at all, in accordance with the agreement made with the Shah when the English aided his people with their ships to conquer Ormuz. By the same agree-

ment the English were bound to afford him the like assistance whenever the Portuguese might attempt to repossess themselves of the said fort.

Bandar Abbas was defended by a mud wall on the land side, but was open towards the sea; it had, however, two bastions, armed with ten pieces of artillery, from among those taken at Ormuz. The air was so unhealthy and caused so much sickness, that throughout the year malignant fevers prevailed, which often killed new arrivals during the first season; but, if they happened to survive till the second, they had nothing more to fear. During the four months of June, July, August and September, most of the inhabitants fled to the adjoining mountains, and those who wished to remain had to resign themselves to suffer the ills caused by the infected air, as well as by the bad odour which the sea emitted during those months, and which was attributed to the corruption of the water from the absence of wind. Not many years before the visit of Padre Godinho, a French physician had arrived in the place by land, who had spread through the whole of Persia the rumour that he was in possession of admirable prophylactics against the fevers of Bandar Abbas. As soon, however, as he arrived, he died, without being able to make experiments, or to use his prophylactics. The goods, which arrived in caravans from Ispahan, Shiraz, Lara, and the whole of Persia., consisted of all kinds of worked and of raw silk, carpets, and wool, so fine, that it was dearer than silk, rhubarb, manna, rose-water, raisins of white grapes without stones, almonds, plums, and a thousand other things, which were exported to India. The trade was chiefly in the hands of the English and the Hollanders, who took their silk from the king, while he received from them various sorts of goods, which he sold retail to his subjects. The Padre remained two days in the place, and was, by the favour of the governor of the port, allowed to pay a visit to Ormuz.

About the year 1514, when Alfonso de Albuquerque was Governor of India,* he appeared with a powerful fleet before Ormuz and made it tributary to the King of Portugal. He also obtained a site in the island for the erection of a fort; the same on which he had, previously, in 1507, laid the foundations of a house for the Factors of the King of Portugal, but the project had not been executed. Beside ceding the site of the fort and accepting vassalage, the Chief of Ormuz, in the year 1543, paid the whole income of his Custom-house to the king of Portugal, because for several years he had failed to pay his tribute, which was remitted in onsequence of this donation.

* See *Calcutta Review*, 1881, October, p. 345. This was the second Governor from 1509 till 1515.

The revenue from this Custom-house amounted yearly to Rs. 3,00,000, more or less.

The King of Portugal was in possession of the island of Ormuz from the year 1514 till 1622, when Shah Abbas, the King of Persia, took it from him, with the aid of the English, along with all the ports on the mainland, as well as on the islands of the Gulf. The Shah destroyed the town, which contained many noble houses, five churches and a convent of Augustinians. He provided the fort with a moat, which the Portuguese had, to their loss, totally neglected to do; he also constructed a bastion for defence, and a drawbridge, left a garrison of 800 Persians, and ordered all the other inhabitants to vacate the island. Of the 60 pieces of artillery which the Portuguese had in the fort, he left only 40, taking some of the rest to his Court at Ispahan and some to the town of Bandar Abbas.

Padre Godinho travelled by land from Bandar Abbas to Kongo, thence to embark for Bosrah. Being unable to procure horses for hire, he took camels, which so distressed him during this brief journey, that he resolved never more to travel in that fashion. The journey lasted three days and-a-half along the shore, which was inhabited by Arab fishermen who lived in huts. At every quarter of a league there were cisterns, lined with stone and cement, full of rain water, conveyed through small open channels, which rendered it turbid. The travellers passed along very high mountains of the whitest salt, and all bare, without a single blade of grass upon them. At the foot of these mountains many persons were engaged in cutting off blocks of salt with mattocks and axes; and the Padre saw a camel loaded with a single block, which weighed 30 arrobas*, and made a full load for the animal.

Kongo had formerly been only a miserable fishing village, but, after losing Ormuz in 1622, the Portuguese took possession of it. When, after the loss of that place, Ruy Freire de Andrade returned to Goa, Conde da Vidigueira, the Viceroy, despatched him again to the Gulf, to restore the Portuguese reputation. Ruy Freire executed his commission as if he had been a thunderbolt, laying waste, destroying and burning all the localities to which he obtained access on the shore and in the islands. He spared no living thing, and slew every man, woman and child he got hold of. The very trees he burned, and the edifices he razed to the ground; and whole tracts of country remained afterwards uninhabited. He allowed no ship to enter, or leave a Persian harbour, and the Persian Government at last sued for peace, which was concluded on con-

* One arroba is about 32 pounds.

dition of its paying an annual tribute of five horses to the King of Portugal, and ceding to him one-half of the Custom-house revenues of Kongo, provided Ruy Freire promised to cause ships to visit that port. Ruy Freire agreed to preserve the places in that part of the Gulf which begins near the island of Kishm and terminates at the mouths of the Euphrates, reserving the greater portion of the gulf for his vengeance. He immediately despatched a Factor to take possession of the Custom-house revenues of Kongo, and a fleet of country vessels to the mouth of the straits, in order to compel ships arriving from India to pass by the harbours of Bandar Abbas and Ormuz, and to enter the port of Kongo, which was, accordingly, a short time afterwards, much frequented, to the great detriment of Bandar Abbas, and not less of the English, who were thus deprived of their reward for the aid they had given the Persians against the Portuguese, namely, one-half of the Custom-house revenues of the said harbour, which they still enjoyed when Padre Godinho was there.

Besides a Factor, the King of Portugal maintained in Kongo an overseer of the revenues and a Custom-house clerk, all of whom were Portuguese; but the collector, guards, appraisers and others were Musalmans, or Hindus. The Government kept also an Augustinian monk, who acted as parish-priest to all the Christians living there, and had his own public church. But the factory was so limited in comparison with the establishments of the Hollanders and the English in Bandar Abbas, that it was considered a disgrace to the Portuguese. It being customary to see the Portuguese flag hoisted on a high mast, Padre Godinho inquired why this was not done in Kongo, and was told by the Custom-house officials, in reply, that their flag was torn, and that they had no other. Of these and other more important matters, on which the Padre is, however, reticent, he sent information from Kongo to the Viceroy. Here our traveller consulted the Portuguese officials on the route he ought to take to Europe, and they all advised him to travel through Persia, as being more secure than the desert of Mesopotamia; but he selected the latter route as being much shorter. His French companion, who was of another opinion, left him, departing to Lara. His other companion, Mahmúd Shah, now desired to return to India, to give an account of the Padre and of himself to the Viceroy, and, in his stead, Padre Godinho engaged a boy who was a native of Maskat and able to bleed. After spending six days in Kongo, and taking leave of the Augustinian monk who had received him with all charity, and the other Portuguese officials, he departed, on the 14th March.

The vessel in which Padre Godinho embarked for Bosrah

was small, its prow low, but its poop extremely high, and it had no keel. For a cabin, a kind of box was placed on the poop, large enough to hold one bed. The vessel had a lateen sail, but could be rowed in calm weather. For defence there were many bundles of lances on board, and for a cooking-stove a basket bedaubed with clay; for tanks there were two jars full of water, enough only for two days, so that, when they were exhausted, it became necessary to land. The same was the case also with firewood, of which there was only a very small quantity in the vessel. The Arabs often attacked the Portuguese in these vessels; but, as they carried no artillery, they were easily defeated. The Persians, too, shortly after depriving the Portuguese of Ormuz, fitted out a fleet of 12 Fustas, which they had found at Ormuz, and 80 Terranquis; but D. Gonzalo de Silveira, who was in command of 8 Fustas encountered them and put them to flight.

Our traveller sailed first to Nabend, which is 36 leagues from Kongo, and then along the coast to various other small ports, not marked on our maps, at which he landed. Thus he reached the mouths of the River Euphrates, to the south of which the island of Bahrain, famous for its pearl fishery, is situated. This he describes, together with that of Manar, near Ceylon.

He found the population of Bosrah to be 100,000,—Arabs, Turks, Persians and Hindus,—in fact members of every nation trading with India. Most of the houses were of mud, coated with bitumen, and having the appearance of brick-buildings. The houses of the wealthy had foundations of stone, brought from Persia; there being none in the territory of Bosrah. In the market, for the first time, he saw locusts, for which the people scrambled; they cooked them in water and salt, after pulling off only their legs and wings; and when they went to sea, they took them as dry provisions in jars. He tasted them and found them very good for one with nothing else to eat. Most of the streets of the town were navigable by canals, which flowed from the Euphrates, and irrigated the plantations and gardens.

Forty ships or more arrived annually from India, laden with fine cloths, iron, wood, pepper, lac, amber, cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, spices, benzoin, and other goods, which were conveyed to Turkey, and thence to Italy and France. He considered Bosrah the wealthiest emporium in that sea, all the goods from the east and west being accumulated there. The merchants of Bosrah were so wealthy that, if 200 ships had arrived at once, they would have been able to provide them with cargoes in a month. Nevertheless the gains were not so large as in other ports, for which reason the Hollanders, who wanted cent. per cent profit, did not trade there.

Padre Godinho had landed at Bosrah on the 29th March, and taken up his lodgings with a barefooted Carmelite of the place, who advised him to continue his journey to Baghdad by boat, by the Euphrates; but as he wished to leave before the owner had obtained his full cargo, he changed his mind and determined to travel by land through the desert. Everybody warned him that such an undertaking was foolhardy and must end disastrously, on account of the robbers of the desert and the heat of the sun. They also represented to him that the expenses would be great, so that he was doubtful what to do. In the meantime, a courier, sent by the Hollanders to the Carmelite, arrived with the first letters, informing their Government that the Portuguese had lost Cochin on the 10th January, 1663. These letters he had to despatch immediately by post to the Carmelite Father at Aleppo. This event induced Padre Godinho to accelerate his journey, in order that he might be able to inform the King of Portugal of his loss, as soon as the Hollanders received the news of their gain, this being probably necessary to the conclusion of peace with the Hollanders. From these remarks also it would appear that Padre Godinho travelled in the service of the King. Having taken this resolution, he immediately purchased a horse for himself, another for a destitute Portuguese whom he had picked up in Bosrah, to act as his servant instead of the Maskat boy whom he discharged, and a third for the interpreter whom he was under the necessity of engaging. One more companion was yet wanting, namely, a safe guide, and he was found in the person of Haji Deb, an old man, who at first refused to take service, alleging that the robbers would kill him if he conveyed foreigners through their haunts without surrendering them. At last, however, he yielded to the entreaties of the Carmelite Father, combined with the promise of good pay, and undertook to convey the party as far as Baghdad, and it was agreed that the start should be made on the 9th April.

The three horses required having been purchased, the guide riding his own, which was a Persian mare, the journey began. The provisions consisted of biscuit, so badly baked that it was soon converted into dough; a loaf, cheese, and some onions. This was all that could be taken, and it had to last five days, after which the travellers hoped to reach an inhabited locality. Some water also was taken in leather-bottles hanging from the pommels of the saddles, as well as barley for the horses, which each carried on its croup. There being no wind, and the sun being very hot, the travellers suffered considerably, but they met with no disaster. They reached the village of Semava in five days, and entered

Departure from
Bosrah and journey
through Mesopota-
mia to Aleppo.

the desert again on the 15th April, although, when possible, they kept as closely to the river as they could. On the 19th they reached Baghdad, crossing the River Tigris by a bridge which consisted of 37 boats fastened together by heavy iron chains. As soon as they had left the bridge, they were accosted by Janissaries, who clamoured for the toll, and inquired what kind of people they were. The guide replied that they were Franks summoned by the Topeji Bashi of Damascus to serve the Grand Senhor as constables. This tale was believed, and they were allowed to enter the city without paying anything. Padre Godinho became the guest of the Superior of the bearded French Capuchins, who, if they made no converts among the Turks, at least attempted to preserve some Oriental Christians in the Roman Faith.

The most populous quarter of the city contained eight mosques along the river bank, inhabited by merchants and officials of every kind, near their places of business, all close together; at the end of each street, there were gates which were bolted every night; they were also vaulted over. There were besides two handsome squares, one in front of the seraglio, inhabited by the Pasha and serving for parades; the other for holding horse-fairs. There were many large and commodious baths for men and women.

The population amounted to 16,000 Turks, Arabs, Kurds and Persians, besides 300 families of Jews. Of Christians there were in Baghdad very many Jacobites, Nestorians and Armenians. The complexion of the inhabitants was fair; they were well mannered and courteous, but wanted in courage, and the Turks placed very little confidence in them, never employing them in high posts either in peace or in war. The women were as comely as the men, and both sexes wore rich and costly garments. The abundance of provisions was incredible, and they were all extremely cheap. The commerce with the whole east and west was great. The potter's clay of which crockery was made, was all white. The cups and other vessels which were believed in India to be from Bosrah, were all made in Baghdad. The horses were more fit for show than for work, being of elegant appearance, but weak and unable to carry much. The donkeys were larger than mules; black and very strong; and both these and other animals were very cheap.

Two caravans started annually from Baghdad for Aleppo, the one, called the great caravan, leaving in March and travelling through the desert; the other leaving at the end of April and passing through Nineveh, or Mousul. The water consumed by the population was drawn from the Tigris, which contained most excellent fish. The whole city was surrounded by a wall, 9 spans in breadth and 50 in height, built of

bricks. It contained 9 bastions, 50 towers and a castle, in which the Pasha had his seraglio, or palace ; but there was a stronger citadel on the other bank of the Tigris, well in front of the city, which mounted 120 pieces of artillery, big and small, entirely of brass, with a garrison of 15,500 picked Janissaries. The fortress was square, but more spacious than strong ; it had also a moat, eight ells deep and twelve broad. Along the walls there was a fosse 50 spans broad, a fathom-and-a-half deep, and always kept full of water.

Our traveller remained only a day-and-a-half in Baghdad and purchased some articles necessary for the journey, which was likely to be more troublesome than hitherto, on account of the want of water, and the certainty of encountering robbers. As no one travelled by land from Bosrah to Baghdad, robbers were not much on the alert on that route, but they watched the caravans which travelled from Baghdad to Aleppo, in hopes of robbing them, as well as getting hold of the revenues of the province, which were sent to Constantinople, when they were not in charge of an escort. The first thing Padre Godinho did in Baghdad, was to cash a bill for 200 dollars, which he had brought from Bosrah to a Baniannamed Manji, who traded in Baghdad and corresponded with the Banians in India. There being Turks and Arabs present in the house of Manji when Padre Godinho asked for the money, he said that he could not give it ; but soon afterwards he brought it, telling Padre Godinho, that, if the Arabs had known that he was carrying money, they would have given information to the brigands, who would soon have relieved him of it. With this money he purchased a horse for his interpreter, his own having become unserviceable ; three leather sacks for carrying water, to be suspended from the bellies of the horses ; 30 fathoms of rope for drawing water from deep wells ; several pounds of *carwe* [coffee] ; some leaf tobacco, and other similar things for presenting to robbers in case they should meet any. Having made these purchases, he concluded a bargain with the guide to conduct him Aleppo, and, taking leave of the Capuchin Fathers, mounted his horse with the companions already mentioned, namely, the guide, the interpreter and the Portuguese servant.

On the 21st April the party left Baghdad by the same bridge by which it had entered, informing everybody that its destination was to meet the Topeji of Damascus. The travellers had scarcely left the vicinity of the town, when a Janissarie, armed with a stout club, came running after them and shouting to them to stop. The Padre, knowing that he wanted money, was not inclined to obey the summons ; but the guide, who reflected that he would have to pass there again on other occasions, was afraid to exasperate the Janissarie, and waited for him with

the whole party. He demanded two dollars for each person, without any reason but that of his club. They haggled with him, till at last he accepted 15 Shahis of the country money, which make 5 dollars, and went away. After the travellers had marched two leagues, they observed a figure on a hillock not far from the road, and, on reaching it, saw that it was an Arab, who, apprehending that he might be noticed, crouched down. After passing the hillock, they saw, on the other side of it, a number of men lying on the ground, whose sentry the Arab was, on the watch for people coming from the direction of Baghdad whom they might rob. The travellers discharged two carbines to show that they possessed fire-arms, and continued their journey, riding all close together. Not far from this spot they found a brook of water, where they and their horses drank and they filled their water skins. That night they slept in an open plain, in great fear of lions and tigers, which were said to be very ravenous in those parts. The horses slept, as usual, close to the travellers, shackled to their feet. About 11 o'clock the guide, who had the first watch, awakened his companions, with shouts of tiger! The travellers drew their swords, but were afraid to use their fire arms, for fear of being heard by brigands, in case any should be about. However, the only tiger they saw disappeared.

On the 22nd day of April, the second day of the journey from Baghdad, they found water in a small pool, and large birds resembling geese, which, from the description given, must have been very young ostriches. They could not fly; and one of them was accordingly caught merely by the hand; many large ones were, however, lying dead near the bank of the pool, and, on measuring the spine of one, Padre Godinho found it to be nine spans in length. He was of opinion that all these birds had been killed by tigers, and left there to be devoured gradually. The guide was filling his water-bag on this occasion, when an enormous tiger came in sight, and all ran to their horses for their arms. The animal, being very thirsty, took no notice of their threatening attitude, but quenched his thirst with his eyes quietly fixed upon the travellers, who then shouted to drive him away, and also threatened him with their carbines; he remained immovable, however, for some time, till at last he became weary of the clamour and walked off to a short distance. They wished to shoot him, but knowing that a wounded tiger gets very furious, they left him alone, and, having watered their horses, again returned to the track leading to the town of Anah. Night setting in, they spent it in the shelter of a hillock, where they also roasted a hare which the guide had pierced with the point of his lance whilst asleep under a bush.

At dawn of the 28th April, the travellers came upon fresh

tracks of a caravan, and followed them up till they reached it. The caravan consisted of camels and other beasts of burden, laden entirely with barley, which was being conveyed from Baghdad to Anah, where none could be procured. The people of the caravan, who were few in number, gave themselves up for lost as soon as they caught sight of our travellers, whom they mistook for brigands, and, depositing their goods on the ground, waited with bows and arrows in their hands for the approach of the travellers. But finding that no hostilities were intended, the leader of the caravan rode towards the travellers mounted on a donkey, and, saluting them, expressed a wish to travel in their company as far as Anah. On this day many pieces of loose, fine, white, marble-like bricks were met with in the desert, scattered over the ground for several leagues.

After the travellers had marched some time with this caravan, they saw to their left an Arab on horseback, driving two oxen before him. They accosted him and asked him for news of the desert, whereupon he informed them, that for some time past 150 mounted robbers had been daily on this road, but that he did not know where they were at present adding that he was now returning to his home with the booty he had taken in the company of the other robbers. They opened his wallet and found in it four cakes, of which they made a hearty meal. Further on they found the footprints of horsemen all along the road, and, as they could discover no marks of horseshoes, they concluded that they must be enemies, and immediately held a consultation what to do in order to avoid meeting them. Padre Godinho proposed to the guide to separate from the caravan, and ride in all haste, at a distance from the road, where the danger was greatest. The guide, however, would not consent to this, because, having received money and other things from the leader of the caravan, he said that it would not be fair to abandon him.

All accordingly travelled together slowly, descending a hill which abutted on the Euphrates. They had not yet well completed the descent when they saw a great cloud of dust raised in the plain by a body of cavalry, but at such a distance that they could not tell whether it was approaching or receding. Our travellers, as well as the people of the caravan, made all haste to unload their camels and donkeys, and, making barriers of their loads, waited for the enemy to approach them through a narrow pass between the river and a hill; but the enemy never came. Being thus freed from their apprehensions, they sat down under some willow trees near the river to rest, but they had scarcely been there an hour, when the cry of robbers was raised. The people grasped their arms and took up a position in the narrow pass already mentioned. On this occasion the

Portuguese servant was so terrified that he hastened to conceal himself among the thickest of the willow bushes. The Arabs, who came up, turned out to be not more than four in number, one of them being the Shekh, or leader, of the body of cavalry which had been noticed in the distance. The interpreter shouted to them to halt, but they paid no attention and continued to advance, till two balls whistled near their ears, whereon they stopped and shouted that they were friends. They then capered about with their horses in a circle as a signal of peace, which was observed with great pleasure, and dates, with onions, were offered for their acceptance. They ate of everything with much gusto, and took some tobacco also which Padre Godinho gave them. During the meal he asked them whence they had come, to which they replied that they had arrived from Hilla, and had with them a good booty taken from a wealthy Turk who was on his way to Baghdad, to be its Kazi; he had with him six camels laden with Indian cloths, and much lac and copper, of the whole of which they deprived him, leaving him dead with two of his slaves, because he had defended himself; they, however, had first killed an Arab he had with him. After having given this information, they got up and paid a visit of inspection to the little caravan, from which they took what they liked without saying a word. They also had a look at the fire-arms which Padre Godinho showed them, and wanted to obtain possession of his water-skin because it was good; but he replied that this was precisely the reason why he wanted it himself. They were much astonished when they saw him putting several balls into a carbine, and asked why he loaded it thus? On his replying that it was for the purpose of killing ten Arabs with one shot, they shook their heads, exclaiming: May Allah preserve us! After examining the contents of the caravan, the Arabs wanted to return to their spoils, which were in the rear of a hill; but Padre Godinho would not allow them to depart till they gave him some security against being attacked by their people as far as the town of Anah. They asked, as a payment, twenty dollars, but accepted fifteen, partly counterfeit and partly good ones, with some other things, in return for which the Shekh gave his little crooked strick, saying:—"With this you may travel safely, and if the horsemen of any other Shekh meet you, all you have to do is to tell them that you have been with me, and to show them this little stick, which they will respect. My name is Shekh Burisha." After saying this, he disappeared in a trice with his companions, quitting the road and entering the pathless desert. The travellers marched in all haste for the remainder of the day, for fear of being overtaken by the Arabs, who might

have discovered the deception of the counterfeit dollars, and nullified the pledge of the little stick. When night set in, the little caravan and the travellers turned aside from the road for the purpose of rest and concealment between two hills. About midnight the moon rose, and the travellers with it, leaving their hiding-place, and urging on the camels as much as possible, for fear of Arabs. In the morning they found that they had gained a new companion, an Arab with a bad face, dressed in rags. He appeared to Padre Godinho to be a spy, and all agreed that he ought to be dealt with as such; but the chief of the caravan, who knew from experience how revengeful Arabs are, interposed, and thus saved him from ill-treatment. Being questioned, he gave out that he was a merchant coming from Baghdad, and that he had, the day before, been robbed, with many others, who were still captives in the tents of the brigands, but that he had escaped during the night, as he had not been tied up as securely. On the following night, however, he fled from the caravan. That day a gazelle was caught and eaten; but the chief repast consisted of a wild boar, which they shared with a tiger who had slain it in sight of the caravan, after an obstinate conflict, which is described as follows:—About eleven o'clock in the morning the travellers again reached the Euphrates which had, on the preceding day, made a bend away from their road. On approaching the river, they caught sight of a large tiger with up-lifted tail, open jaws, and greatly infuriated, jumping, from time to time, upon what appeared to be nothing but a little heap of mud, instead of the wild boar with which he was fighting, and which was protected by several layers of loam. They stopped the camels, and, alighting from their horses, watched the battle more closely. The boar, which displayed very sharp tusks, and was coated with dry mud to the thickness of about three inches, had posted itself with its back to a willow tree. The ravenous tiger endeavoured to drag him away from his post, but, seeing all his efforts of no avail, leapt upon his back, imbedding his claws in his skin and bristles. Finding that he had pulled off only some of the latter, with a great deal of mud, he repeated the assault and denuded the boar of his cuirass of mud, but without injuring him much. When the boar found himself thus disarmed, he attempted to flee to the river to envelop himself again with mud, but the tiger, falling upon him, ripped his belly open with his claws. After killing the boar, the tiger lay down near it, first carefully licked the only wound he had received in the contest, and then set about devouring his prey, leaving some also for the travellers. About four o'clock in the afternoon the travellers reached a halting-place, where they discovered fresh traces of numerous horses which had

been there, and congratulated themselves that they had not fallen in with them. During the greater portion of the day and a part of the night, they marched along the bank of the river, which was there very deep and broad. They saw on that day an incredible number of wild boars, and a multitude of wild asses drinking from the river, near which they slept, during the portion of the night not spent in travelling, and, on the 25th April, at dawn, they again took to the road, which brought them straight to Anah at about 8 o'clock in the morning.

The town of Anah, which was in former times the capital of the whole desert, was built on both banks of the Euphrates and was sheltered by rocks in its rear, which also prevented its extension. For this reason it contained but few streets, and these were so long that it took an hour to pass through one of them on horseback. The houses were high, and constructed of bricks, in spite of the abundance of stone in the locality. The best things at Anah were its orchards and gardens, irrigated by the Euphrates, and full of European fruits and flowers.

In the middle of the river there was an island with a castle as large as that of Lisbon, surrounded with walls of mud and baked bricks, which, however, were half in ruins, as well as the edifices within the walls. There was no bridge, and the river had to be crossed on a large ballasted barque capable of holding fifteen loaded camels. There being only this vessel to ferry the people over, it took the caravan from Baghdad, when it passed there, eight days or more to cross. The natives passed from one bank to the other side on inflated leather bags, paddling with their hands, although the current carried them far down. The Euphrates at this point was 320 paces broad. In former times the town contained many wealthy merchants, but they all went away to Damascus and Aleppo during the Turco-Persian war.

After crossing the river, the travellers alighted at the house of a weaver who was a friend of the guide, and who entertained them honourably on the 25th April, which they spent in Anah. When they left, they first ascended the mountain at the back of the town, and then entered an extensive plain. For the sake of greater security they diverged from the beaten track, and, after passing through desolate and melancholy sandy places, they at last went to sleep in a cave, or oven, which appeared to have been a lion's den. There they made a fire by which they roasted a great quantity of birds' eggs, as well as esculent tubers which they had found that day in the desert. During the night seven tigers paid them a visit, and they would have fared badly if the horses had not scented their approach from a distance and given notice. The tigers, finding that the

travellers were on the alert at the entrance of the cave, and that the horses were out of reach, desisted from annoying them.

The next day, at dawn, when our travellers had marched some leagues, they found a small well, at which they drank and filled their water-skins. Then the guide informed them that that day they had to pass through the most dangerous portion of the desert, their road leading through the encampment of an Arab chief where the caravan would be stopped; wherefore it would be necessary to ride at full speed the whole day, to avoid the peril of being discovered by spies on the look out for caravans, or by Arabs passing home to their encampment. They were recommended to ride in pairs, according to the Arab fashion, and not in single file, so that, if they perceived them from a distance, the Arabs might take them for their own people. This was done, and on this occasion the horses proved themselves to be of the true Arab race; for, although fatigued, exhausted by hunger and thirst, and heavily laden with barley, wallets, arms, waterbags and the persons of their riders, they never stopped running from dawn till two o'clock in the afternoon, during which time they traversed eight leagues of the most dangerous part of the road. In the afternoon they reached the top of a hill from which they looked down upon an extensive plain, where the guide said he had formerly seen two very deep wells, but that they were a sure place for brigands who watered their horses there. The travellers then separated, and, dismounting, so as not to be observed, went to look for the camp. Having descried seven horses near the spot where the guide said the wells should be, the travellers consulted whether it would be better in this emergency to flee before the horsemen reached them, or to go on and meet them. No one thought that flight would be safe, since, by returning in the direction from which they had come, they would fall into greater danger; nor did the travellers think much of meeting the seven horsemen they had seen at a distance; but, finding that they had become twenty by the time they got nearer, they were frightened. Making, however, a virtue of necessity, they bravely advanced towards the robbers with primed fire-arms, spanned triggers, and pistols in their girdles. Nine of the robbers mounted their horses, as soon as they saw the travellers coming straight towards them, and rode up to them with the quickness of lightning, signs of peace not having been made on either side with the horses. When they were within speaking distance, the travellers asked the robbers who they were, but the latter gave no reply; but, passing on a little further, they caught sight of the arms, whereon they immediately stopped, and the travellers continued their march towards the wells, which they found to contain

no water, so they continued their journey without stopping. They had progressed but little, when the brigands, after consulting among themselves, galloped towards them, but, a musket and two carbines being fired, they turned away again. It was feared that they had gone only to bring reinforcements, and the travellers rode as quickly during the afternoon as they had done in the morning, till they came to a spot with sand heaped around, which had no doubt formerly served as an enclosure for the cattle of the brigands, and had been so well manured with their dung that it presented the aspect of a most beautiful grass plot, which was like a miracle in that desert. The place was most suitable for pasturing the horses, for which there was no more barley, but the fear of robbers influenced the travellers more than the allurements of the place; so they cut some grass with their knives, each placing a bundle of it on his horse, and marched till nine o'clock in the evening, when they reached some kind of shelter. In the course of the same day, which was the 27th April, they observed the sun become suddenly white like snow, emitting no rays, and not injuring the eyes when they were fixed on it, and Padre Godinho kept them that way for a long time whilst marching without the least inconvenience. After it had remained in this state for about half an hour, a dense cloud covered it and made an end of the spectacle.

Having watched all night, the travellers returned towards the road at dawn of the 28th April, and passed in sight of Rahab before it was full daylight. Rahab was a town and fort situated on an eminence among extensive fields, and distant two leagues from the Euphrates, which had formerly flowed quite near it. Padre Godinho states that the inhabitants were poor Arabs, subjects of the Turks, and supporting themselves by their cattle and by a little agriculture; he is also of opinion that David referred to this town when he said, in the 78th Psalm:—"I shall mention Rahab and Babylon among those who know me."

On the 29th April it rained for many hours, and a violent wind greatly distressed the travellers, who were compelled to halt in the open desert till it ceased. At 9 P. M. they reached a deep well, from which they drew water in all haste, as they noticed signs around it that people had recently been there. They accordingly travelled three leagues further, when they halted between two hills, not, however, to sleep, the ground being saturated with water and the baggage dripping with it. About midnight they heard voices of Arabs who seemed to be passing near. The night was pitch-dark, the horses were exhausted, and the pans of the fire-arms were wet, with nearly all the gunpowder spoiled. The utmost they could

do, in fact, was to keep quiet, and the men whom they feared, passed on without discovering their presence. The next day they heard at Taiba that these men were 60 in number, mounted on 30 dromedaries, and had ruined that place, as well as Rahab, by stealing the cattle and robbing the people who passed between the two towns. Thus it appears that, if it had not rained, the travellers would have encountered the brigands.

On the 30th April, at about nine in the morning, the travellers came in sight of a magnificent square edifice, mostly ruined. Everything was of the finest marble, with columns, conduits for water, and various out-houses. The portals were of Corinthian work, and the whole structure resembled the temple of Solomon. One league further on was the city of Taiba, surrounded by mud walls, with a small piece of artillery over the principal gate, but no other gun in the whole fort, the people fearing only robbers. The inhabitants, who lived by husbandry and by breeding camels, were all Arabs, including their governor. Neither plantations nor gardens, and not even trees, could be seen, although a brook, flowing close to the walls, might have irrigated them; but the soil was barren. At that time the people were so much afraid of robbers that they did not allow even their dromedaries to leave the town. The travellers took up their lodgings in the house of an acquaintance of the guide, and had scarcely alighted when the governor of the place entered. He was a fat man, with a large beard, barefooted and bare-legged, with breasts as large as those of a woman, and well known to some Europeans who had passed there, not by his virtues, but as the most cruel thief in all Arabia. Padre Godinho also knew him by repute and had been told to pretend that he had no money, but to pay him many compliments. Accordingly he received him with as much courtesy and friendliness as if there had been the greatest friendship between them, offering him coffee, tobacco and an embroidered sheet. He drank coffee, smoked a little, without saying a word, and, at his departure, asked the guide what kind of people the travellers were, whence they had come, where they intended to go, and what capital they possessed? The guide told him the truth in every particular, whereupon he went to take his supper, but, although he was neither asked nor wanted, said he would return. He came back with some of his people, who regarded coffee as a rarity; wherefore Padre Godinho took out all he had from the baggage and, distributing it among the people, excused himself on the score of poverty for the scantiness of his gift, at which the governor smiled and said: "We know well that you are rich, because, if such were not the case, you would not have undertaken such a costly

journey. Poor people travel with caravans and subsist on alms, but you, who have brought these companions at your own expense from Bosrah, want to make us believe that you are poor? Now let us see your purse." Saying this, he ordered his people to bring out the baggage and search it, whereon Padre Godinho humbly requested him not to deal in this manner with a poor traveller, who, trusting his noble character, had entered his territory, which he might have avoided, and who was ready to pay the customary dues, and further told him that he might expect more than this payment on his return journey from Aleppo. This fiction and the polite entreaties of the Padre took effect upon the governor, who ordered his men to cease examining the baggage, and who, having afterwards accepted ten dollars, together with a saddle which he coveted, allowed the travellers to depart the next day. They left Taiba on the 1st May, three of them on horseback, and the Portuguese on a donkey, his horse having become unserviceable. On the same day they entered Syria, found water in various places, and spent the night under the open sky. The next day they saw numberless storks and gazelles. They also saw thirteen Turks on horseback, each of them with a falcon, which, being let go, immediately settled on the head of a gazelle, and, flapping its wings, poked the eyes of the poor animal and so distressed it, that, more anxious to avoid its beak, than the lance that threatened its life, it lay down on the ground, thus giving time to the hunter to come up and kill it. The next night they slept at Milva, a village inhabited by Turks and a few Arabs. Here they were, hospitably entertained, but kept awake all night, watching the Turkish horsemen, who robbed passengers there as if they had been wild Arabs.

In the morning of the 3rd May they marched along the shore of a very extensive lake, from the water of which salt was manufactured; and the Padre also mentions, as not less wonderful, that the dew, falling from the sky upon the leaves of certain trees, growing in places near the Euphrates, is converted into salt as pungent as that of Setubul or Alcacer. About three in the afternoon they reached the suburbs of Aleppo, and shortly afterwards entered the city itself, twenty-five days after their departure from Bosrah, of which they had spent one at Semava, one-and-a-half in Baghdad, nearly one day in Taiba, and another in Anah.

The city was oblong, and had two suburbs, which were very extensive. One of these was inhabited by Arabs and Turks, whilst the other was tenanted wholly by Christians, such as Greeks, Maronites, Armenians Jacobites and Nestorians. The whole city, including the suburbs, was two leagues

From Aleppo to
Portugal.

in circuit, and was surrounded by high walls, with towers at intervals, all of ancient workmanship. Admittance was obtained through nine gates, and, in the middle of the city, there was a fort on an eminence, surrounded by a moat crossed by a stone-bridge, whence a covered way led up to the eminence. The artillery consisted of 500 pieces, large and small; the garrison of 500 Janissaries and 300 Sepahis. In size the city was the third in the whole Ottoman empire, being inferior only to Constantinople and Cairo, but it was superior to them in its buildings, which were all of masonry well built, lofty and majestic, though the absence of windows towards the streets disfigured them considerably. Above all, the caravanserais of Aleppo were as beautiful as the best convents in Portugal, and built in the same fashion, with the same arrangements, all being quadrangular, with fountains in the centre. Here merchants and strangers lodged, two hundred of them living in one caravanserai, which contained as many apartments, and separate kitchens to the same number. Not less majestic were the mosques, which exceeded a hundred. Outside the city there were two convents of Mahomedan monks, four classes of whom the Padre describes. Aleppo appeared to him to contain few public squares to beautify it; indeed, he saw only two. The larger square was in front of the seraglio or palace of the Pasha, and presented a noble and sumptuous appearance; there criminals were executed. Immediately before this square was another, where a fair for the sale of horses, mules and other beasts of burden was held every Tuesday. The streets were paved, and something like a canal, for water, passed through the central part, where also animals walked, so as not to interfere with the people. Although straight, all the thoroughfares were narrow, and they were regularly closed every evening at five, not to be opened till the next morning at the same hour. The streets in which the merchants and officials dwelt, were all vaulted over, but had sky-lights. In every street there were numerous fountains of stone, very well constructed, and three or four spans high from the ground. By each of them was a brass cup, suspended by an iron chain, for the convenience of persons wishing to drink. Besides these public fountains, of which there were about two hundred, every house had its own. All this water came to Aleppo from Aylam, a village distant one league from it, in a canal about the length of a lance in depth and six spans in breadth. At the point where this canal entered the city, was a handsome water-house where resided a Turkish official, who regulated the distribution of water to the public and private fountains. For all that, however, many men in the streets were offering water to passers by, from curiously worked brass cups, gratis,

and for the sole purpose of gaining religious merit ; whilst others walked about in the same manner, offering for sale liquorice water, which the Turks were fond of. In the hot season the streets of Aleppo were watered twice a day. There were also hundred of magnificent baths, which were visited on certain days by women. On these occasions a white sheet at the door was the signal for men to keep aloof, and if, in spite of it, any man had ventured to trespass, he would have been deprived of life. There were also certain hostelries, in which any one, even a Christian, could obtain food gratis during three days.

A rivulet, Sing by name, passed through the city, for the irrigation of plantations and gardens. The fields were extremely productive, and contained many olives, but more mulberry trees, which supplied food to innumerable silkworms. Around the city were tombstones with inscriptions in the cemeteries of Turks, frequented by women every Friday, who offered incense and prayer for the dead,

The commerce of Aleppo being very extensive, it was inhabited by Arabs, Persians, Turks, Tartars, Oriental and Occidental Christians, and many other foreigners of every kind, the whole population numbering 100,000, and every nation wearing its own costume. Christians were allowed to dress like Turks, but they could not wear wholly white or green turbans, and it was necessary for them to have some stripes of another hue when they were of one of these colours. The Jews wore long blue robes, and caps without brims and of the same colour. They suffered great persecution, but were nevertheless the worst enemies of the Christians, maligning them to the Turks, and doing all in their power to injure them. Europeans, such as Englishmen and Hollanders, were merchants protected by their Consuls, and most of the other Christians were officials. There were in Aleppo four convents, belonging respectively to the Franciscans, bearded French Capuchins, Carmelites, and French Jesuits. Lastly there were two convents of Greek nuns.

The goods exported from Aleppo were the following :—A great quantity of gallnuts, much Persian silk, much cotton, much ashes for manufacturing soap, Indian cloths, raw hides and spices. All these articles were brought to Aleppo by numerous caravans which arrived every day. Had not the extortions and robberies of the Pashas caused the diversion of much of the commerce of Persia to Smyrna, it would have been even more considerable than it was.

Padre Godinho imagined that, on arriving in Aleppo, his troubles had come to an end, but experience proved that the Turkish populace was more to be feared than the Arabian

desert. He alighted at the caravanserai, near which the French Consul lived and the Jesuit convent was situated, and was waiting for a visit, when he found himself surrounded by Jews, without any Christian daring to approach him, or to receive him into his house, for fear of being taken up, on suspicion of having concealed his diamonds and pearls, abundance of which every one coming from India was supposed to possess. The Jews wanted him to go to the Custom-house before paying a visit anywhere else, and he complied. As the Aga, or official, had not yet arrived, he waited for some time, which the Jews utilized to extort four gold pieces from him, on the promise that they could make arrangements for his not being searched by the Custom-house people; and, after giving another dollar to a servant of the Aga, he was allowed to depart. He betook himself to the Jesuit convent, which was close at hand, but was immediately followed by more Hebrews, who demanded the same amount as the others had received, alleging that they also belonged to the Custom-house, and must not, on account of their delay, lose what their companions had gained by passing his baggage safely through that establishment, and telling him that, if he did not give them an equal sum, trouble would certainly befall him. He was inclined to satisfy their demands; but the Jesuit fathers all told him that, if he yielded to intimidation and gave them money, he would soon learn that it could not extricate him from their hands, and that greater evils would befall him if he were to pay them, than if he were to plead poverty and give them nothing. This advice, based on experience, appeared good. Accordingly the Padre assured the Jews that he had scarcely money enough to pay the expenses of his journey, whereon they departed; three days, however, had scarcely elapsed when Padre Godinho was summoned to the Custom-house again. He took with him the interpreter of the French Consul and found the Aga reclining on a cushion upon the top of his carpets, surrounded by many Hebrews. The oldest of these, who was their Rabbi, asked him whether he was an old or a new Portuguese? He replied:—"I am as old a Portuguese as you are a Jew." This man then stated that it had been brought to the notice of the Aga, that Padre Godinho was a very rich merchant who had lived eight years in India, whence he had brought a great quantity of diamonds, which he had concealed, on entering the city, to defraud the Custom-house of its dues. He denied all this, saying that he was no merchant, and asked whether it was credible that a man carrying diamonds would expose himself to the dangers of the desert, contrary to the habit of merchants, who always travel with caravans for the safety of their goods. He also explained that he had been, and

still was, a Jesuit, and was returning home as such. The Hebrew replied that no Padre travelled so expensively as he had done, and therefore he must be a man of high position and much wealth. As to the allegation that, if he had been carrying diamonds, he would not have ventured into the desert without a caravan, the Hebrew said it was certain that he had come with one from Baghdad and had an interest amounting to 2,00,000 rupees in it, but that he had hurried to Aleppo, because it had been stopped by Arabs. Lastly he advised Padre Godinho, as a friend, to offer a large bribe to the Aga, lest he should have to satisfy a still larger demand. Whatever the Hebrew said in Italian to Padre Godinho, the interpreter repeated to the Aga in Turkish. Then the Padre said that he owed nothing and possessed nothing, and the Aga ordered him to be taken to prison, but he afterwards induced the French Consul to stand security for him, and this having been accepted, he was allowed to roam freely about the city.

More than twenty days of the month of May had already elapsed, and ships were sailing daily from the port of Skanderoon, *i. e.*, Alexandretta, to France or Italy ; but Padre Godinho was not yet free, and when he desired his friends to negotiate for his liberation, they replied that, if the Turks knew of his anxiety to depart, they would conjecture that he was engaged in very important affairs, and would enhance their demands before granting him the required permission, which would entail an expense of more than 2,000 dollars, because, after he had paid one sum, they would want another. They advised him to show the Turks that he was pleased to remain in Aleppo, whereon they would give up their attempt to extort money from him and let him depart. He followed this stratagem for some time, but whilst he was still in Aleppo, he learned that the last ship of the season was about to sail within a week from Alexandretta. He therefore sent a message to that effect to the Aga, adding, that if he were not allowed to depart, he would continue to live in the city, like his brother Padres who were settled there ; that it was ridiculous to ask him for what he did not possess ; and that he ought to be allowed either to embark, or to make a trip to visit the sacred localities of Jerusalem under security. This message so incensed the Aga that he called the Padre a spy in disguise and ordered him to be cast into prison, and thence to be taken to Constantinople to the Grand Wazir. This game having gone too far, our traveller endeavoured to mollify the Aga by every means in his power, but the Turk continued to call him a spy worthy of the gallows. At last, however, money effected what nothing else could accomplish ; and after the French Consul had pre-

sented the Aga with 100 dollars, of his own money as it were, the Padre was allowed to leave the city, during his stay in which he had witnessed the solemnities of the fasting month, Ramazan, with the procession at its termination. His descriptions of these may be passed over, as not being of much interest in India, as well as the account of the Jesuit missions in Turkey and in Asia in general, to which a whole chapter is devoted.

Having obtained permission and a passport from the Aga, our traveller made preparations for immediate departure. After taking leave of all the other Padres, of the French and English Consul, and of some merchant friends, he left the city on the 1st of June 1663, accompanied by his Portuguese servant whom he had brought from Bosrah, by two Turkish travellers, and by Mr. Pandolpho Higen, a German, who was going to France, as well as by thirty foreign merchants who went only as far as one league from the city, all mounted on beautiful horses and well provided with arms. They had accompanied Mr. Pandolpho to take leave of him, and, on arriving at the spot of separation, he gave them a magnificent breakfast which he had brought on a mule. Many toasts were drunk and but few tears shed; the merchants embraced their friend and returned to the city, whilst the travellers marched forward.

On the first day of the journey Padre Godinho was much pained to see some famous monasteries in ruins; nothing but these could be seen on either side of the road. He saw marvellous churches of stone, carved with as much minuteness as if it had been wax. There was not a block in the walls shorter than two ells, and all were clamped together with sheets of iron or copper. The best finished specimens of ancient workmanship were to be seen on the chapels and doors of the churches, the former being very low and small, but with cupolas, and the sculptures being more exquisite than any paintings, whilst the doors displayed Mosaic and Corinthian work surrounded by grand foliage of stone. In some churches he saw columns of strange size and thickness, but nearly all of them prostrate and broken. Near these churches were convents on the same model as those of Portugal, but a great deal loftier. Some of these had in the interior springs of water, and others cisterns cut in the rock. Of all these buildings only the walls and chapels were standing, the great size of the stones having protected them from demolition. On the same day also a dismantled castle, and the ruins of a city were seen. The night was spent at Halaca, which contained but few inhabitants, although its ruins showed it to have been a large city in ancient times.

Half a day's journey from Halaca, the church of St. Simeon,

the Stylite, was situated, on a mountain called Mandra, ten leagues and a half from Antioch. The temple of the saint had been built in the form of a cross, which had, however, neither a roof nor a cupola, but contained a column 40 ells high, standing upon which the saint did penance. The pedestal of the column was still to be seen. Near this temple had been an imperial temple, of which only the bare site was visible. On the top of the mountain there was still in existence a great cistern, excavated in the rock, with a descent of sixteen steps to the water. From that spot also an extensive valley was perceived, with the remnants of a city, a single street of which led to the church of the holy Stylite. On the declivities of Mount Mandra the vestiges and ruins of more than thirty convents and temples, built in honor of the saint, could be seen. In the church of the Stylite our traveller said mass, using the pedestal of the column as an altar, for his own consolation and that of his two Christian companions. From that place the road turned to the left, and the travellers, having passed across the River Efrim, entered the fertile and extensive plains of Antioch, which are fourteen leagues in length, and traversed by many sweet brooks. The travellers passed over the bridge of Murad Pasha, which was three quarters of a league in length, on account of the marshes near the river. Near Antioch, which could be seen in the distance, on the slope of a mountain, there was a lake which appeared to be the sea, and had been connected therewith, in ancient times, and which had been formerly navigated by galleys, but latterly only by small boats. Antioch was founded by Seleucus Nicator. St. Peter is said to have been Bishop there for seven years, and St. Paul preached there. This was the first city in the world which assumed the name of Christian ; but when our traveller was there, it had become almost deserted, so that the Patriarch of Antioch transferred his residence first to Damascus and finally to Aleppo.

On the second day of the start from Aleppo, the party crossed a chain of very high mountains which begins in Armenia and terminates near Alexandretta, meeting with European forest trees, such as oaks, vines, myrtle, rosemary and other fragrant shrubs, which filled the air with so delightful a perfume as to excite a desire to dwell among them. At last the travellers entered a hamlet of Greek Christians, in which they spent the night, and on the third day of the journey they reached Alexandretta, or Skanderoon, situated on the seashore and inhabited by a few Greek Christians, who supported themselves by fishing and agriculture. The climate of this locality was very unhealthy, on account of the marshes by which it was surrounded, and it actually happened that ships remained in the port waiting till

crews were sent them from France or Italy, because their own had died. The port was a kind of bay formed by the Mediterranean, large and deep enough, but without any kind of works of defence, so that no Turkish ships frequented it, for fear of Maltese ships, which were at that time constantly cruising along the coast. On the shore near Alexandretta, to the west, a tower built by Godefroy de Bouillon, during the Crusades, was still to be seen ; and on the north side, half a league distant, was Payaz, a wealthy town producing much silk. Between this town and Alexandretta, close to the shore, there was a very ancient column, on the spot, where according to tradition, the whale disgorged the Prophet Jonah.

On reaching Alexandretta, the Padre immediately embarked in a French vessel for Marseilles, where it cast anchor on the 22nd July 1663.

In this port the lazaretto, or quarantine, was not so strict as in Leghorn or Venice, and the health officers allowed Padre Godinho to depart after a captivity of seven days. He then went to the college of the Jesuits, still wearing Turkish costume, and, after spending with them the festival of St. Ignatius, set out for Bordeaux, where he was assured that he would find a ship for Portugal. He remained only two days in Bordeaux, and, finding no vessel there bound for Portugal, went to Rochelle, where he was told that he would find one. There he was received with much courtesy by the Rector of the Jesuit College, and embarked for Portugal, after a few days' stay, in the ship *Mazarin*, commanded by Captain M. de Almarae, who, with two other frigates, was convoying 14 merchant ships, laden with wheat and barley. The voyage was very stormy, but the kindness with which the captain treated the Padre, and his safe arrival at the Court of Portugal, made him forget all his troubles. He disembarked at Casaes, near the mouth of the Tagus, on the 25th October in 1663, having embarked at Rochelle on the 10th September of the same year.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. VI.—MAJOR-GENERAL CLAUDE MARTINE.

IT has been justly observed that the advantages of nature, or of fortune, have contributed but little to the promotion of happiness, and that those whom the splendour of their rank, or the extent of their capacity, has placed upon the summit of human life, have not often furnished any just occasion for envy to those who look up to them from a lower station.

The biography of Claude Martine, however, affords an apt illustration of the converse of the postulate just laid down. Sprung from an obscure family, Martine had the advantage of neither fortune, nor rank, nor education; yet, by his own unaided efforts, he struggled through Alpine barriers, till he rose to the highest pinnacle of power and affluence which it was possible for him, under the circumstances, to attain.

He was born on the 5th January 1735, in the city of Lyons, where his father carried on the trade of a silk manufacturer. Martine himself was also apprenticed to the trade; but the spirit of adventure was too strongly developed in his nature for him to take kindly to the sedentary and uncongenial profession of his father. He accordingly sought an outlet for his ambition in fresher fields, and, in his twentieth year, he enlisted in the French Army as a common soldier. In this new sphere of life, he soon displayed such singular aptitude that he was promoted from the infantry into the cavalry. About this time, the rival powers of England and France were contending for supremacy in India. The principal seat of the war was in the southern part of the peninsula. The death of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk of the Deccan was followed by a dispute in regard to the succession to the subordinate governorship of the Carnatic. Chunda Sahib, through the assistance of the French arms, defeated his rival Anaverdy Khan, and thereby secured the succession. It was on this occasion that Dupleix commemorated his triumph by the erection of the famous column "on four sides of which four pompous inscriptions in four languages proclaimed his glory to all nations of the East." The boast of heraldry and pomp of power so inseparable from Oriental conceptions of importance, tended very materially to establish the French prestige, at all events, in Southern India. As time rolled on, each nation, at different periods, experienced the reverses of fortune. At length, the English, having avenged the horrors of the Black Hole, and fought and won the battle of Plassy, directed their energies towards the south. They defeated the French in several

engagements and demolished Dupleix's column, leaving not even a wrack behind to mark the spot of its departed glory. Indeed, the position of the French now became so critical, that the authorities at home determined to send out Count de Lally (an officer of great repute who had won his spurs on the battle fields of Europe) as Governor-General of all the French Possessions and Establishments of the East, with extraordinary powers to act according to his discretion. Martine was appointed as one of the small corps of picked men whom Lally had selected for his body-guard; and, as his people at home could make no good of him, he was shipped abroad, like his more illustrious contemporaries Clive and Hastings, "to make a fortune, or die of a fever" in India. He landed with Lally's force at Pondicherry on 9th September 1777. For the immediate purposes of this sketch, it is unnecessary to follow Lally through his several engagements. He was undoubtedly a keen, daring soldier, but he was completely ignorant of Oriental methods of life and warfare. He exercised the dictatorial powers with which he was invested, with such insufferable haughtiness, that he completely alienated the affections of the natives, and excited the disgust of his subordinates. At length the relations between the French commander and his troops became so strained, that, after the battle of Faldore, a number of the latter deserted and went over to the English, by whom they were well received, and by whom they were employed in the subsequent operations against Lally. Amongst the deserters were Claude Martine and his brother. Claude's knowledge of the country and his great influence over his countrymen were of very great service to the English. He was given the local rank of Captain, and served with conspicuous gallantry throughout the remainder of the campaign, which culminated in the surrender of his old Chief, Lally, at Pondicherry, in the year 1761.

At the close of the war, Martine perceived that his position and prospects would be considerably improved by throwing in his lot with, and attaching himself permanently to, the English. He accordingly volunteered to raise a body of Chasseurs from amongst the French deserters and prisoners for service in the English army. His offer was accepted. He was appointed to the command, with the rank of Ensign, and ordered to proceed to Bengal. The voyage thither proved a most eventful one. The vessel in which Martine and his company embarked, sprung a leak and foundered off Point Guadamur—the promontory which separates the coast of Coromandel from that of Orissa. Several of his men were drowned, but Martine himself and some of his companions succeeded in getting off in one of the ship's boats, and, after experiencing the

usual hardships and privations inseparable from shipwreck, they eventually managed to gain the port of Calcutta. On arrival, Martine was treated with great kindness. He was posted to the cavalry as a Cornet, and was subsequently promoted to a Captaincy, with the command of a company of infantry. In his leisure hours, he cultivated a taste for mathematics and engineering, and soon acquired considerable proficiency as a draftsman. Accordingly, when the Company resolved to make a survey of the North-East of Bengal, Martine was selected to conduct the operations, and, having brought them to a successful termination, he was shortly after deputed on a similar undertaking in the province of Oudh. While so engaged, he resided principally at Lucknow. There his ingenuity in several branches of mechanics, and his skill in the art of gunnery, attracted the attention of the Nabab Vizier Shuja-ud-daulah, who moved the Governor in Council of Calcutta to consent to Martine's transfer to his service, as Superintendent of his artillery park and arsenal. The present residence of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh was used as Martine's *Barud-khana*, or powder magazine.

Martin soon acquired considerable influence at the Court of Lucknow. He was confidential adviser to the Vizier in all matters of importance affecting the interests of his territory, and gained the complete confidence alike of the ruler and his subjects. His position in the Company's service, of course, rendered it impossible for him to continue in Oudh after the completion of the work on which he had been engaged. But the Vizier not wishing to part with Martine, the latter, who was charmed with the conditions and prospects of his new service, applied for and obtained permission to be allowed to abandon his pay and allowances in the Company's employ on condition that he should be allowed to retain his rank, and continue to be attached to the Vizier's service.

In the year 1775, Shuja-ud-daulah died and was succeeded by his son Asaf-ud-daulah, who likewise retained Martine in his service. It was chiefly during the reign of this prince, that Martine amassed the colossal fortune which he subsequently acquired. The new prince had a passion, amounting almost to a constitutional infirmity, for the arts and manufactures of Europe. Martine, perceiving the prince's weakness, was not slow in setting himself to impose upon it. One day he procured two white mice, which he placed in a beautiful white cage and exhibited to the Vizier, who, as usual, wished immediately to get possession of them, and asked Martine at what price he would part with them. Martine, knowing the man with whom he had to deal, was determined to drive the most

profitable bargain he could. He accordingly withstood all entreaties for several days. At length, with some ostensible feeling of reluctance, he agreed to sell the cage and the mice for Rs. 10,000—a sum which the great potentate was willing to pay, but his minister persuaded him to wait a few days, in the hope that Martine might be induced to accept some abatement. During the progress of the negotiations, however, a man brought a cage full of white mice, and sold them to the prince for a nominal sum, to the great mortification of Martine.

Whenever the prince invested in some piece of mechanism, or other curiosity, Martine forthwith searched the world for something superior of the same kind; and his spirit found no peace until he had procured and disposed of it to the prince at an immense profit. At one time the prince's room was embellished with various articles of the choicest description. Amongst them were two mirrors of the largest size that the manufacturers of Great Britain could produce. At Martine's visit, the prince with childish glee expatiated on the beauties of his investment. Not to be out-done, Martine immediately wrote off to France, where plate glass was cast of larger dimensions than in England, and procured two of the largest size, which he sold to the prince at a fabulous price.

In this way Martine made considerable sums of money. Another source from which he derived a large income was by opening a bank, and establishing an extensive credit with the shroff and bankers of Oudh and the adjacent provinces. The extraordinary degree of credit and favour which he thus acquired in the Vizier's dominions induced all classes of people to repose implicit confidence in his power and his integrity. In times of public commotion, the inhabitants flocked to him from all quarters to deposit their moveable property with him for safe custody at 12 per cent. on its full value.

During his residence at Lucknow, he continued to be borne on the Company's rolls as an officer, although he received no part of his salary from them. After 25 years' service, he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1790, when the war with Tippoo broke out, he presented the Company, at his own expense, with a number of fine horses sufficient to mount a troop of cavalry, and, in return for this service, he was given his Colonelcy. Six years later he received his Major-Generalship.

Martine was originally a member of the Roman Catholic faith, but he could not be persuaded to accept some of its doctrines. He denounced its customs as prejudices, and described its ordinances as priestcraft. It is said that the Roman Catholic priest at Lucknow made several attempts to

interview this extraordinary man. But, as he always came in the humble garb of his order and was generally barefooted, Martine declined to admit him to audience on the ground that the poor priest exhibited no external mark of respectability! He, in short, abandoned his religion, but found no comfort in the other creeds which he successively adopted, and perceiving, as he said, that their ways to heaven were even more absurd than the faith in which he had been brought up, he eventually returned, though without conviction, to his original belief, and devoted his life to the relief of the poor and helpless. He erected a spacious dwelling-house on the banks of the Goompti. The ruling prince Asaf-ud-daulah was so struck with the grandeur of the building, that he offered Martine Rs 1,00,000 for it. Martine held out for a very much larger sum, but, before the bargain was concluded, Asaf-ud-daulah died, and Martine, fearing that the prince's successors would possess themselves of it, resolved to convert it into a mausoleum for himself, as no Mahomedan will ever live in a house in which a man has been buried. "When I am dead," runs the direction in his will, "which I suppose will happen at Lucknow, unless in the field of honor against an enemy, if at Lucknow or anywhere else, I request that my body may be salted, put in spirits, or embalmed, and deposited in a leaden coffin made of sheet lead in my godown; and this coffin is to be put in another one of sissou wood, of thick planks of two inches thick, and deposited in the cave of my monument, or house, at Luckperra, called Constantia, in the cave in the small round room north-east; two feet of masonry to be raised over me and covered with marble which is to bear the following inscription:—Major-General Claude Martine, born at Lyons, January, 1735; arrived in India as a common soldier, and died at Lucknow on 13th September, 1800, and he is buried in this tomb; pray for soul!"

The building in which he is buried, is known as the Martinière, or "Constantia," from his motto "*Labore et Constantia*." His tomb is a simple sarcophagus, standing on the floor, and it originally had at each angle a grenadier in full uniform, standing with hands reversed, in an attitude of grief. During the Mutiny of 1857, this building was held by the rebels, who dug up Martine's tomb in the hope of discovering treasure, but, being disappointed in their expectations, they scattered his bones. Some of these were, however, subsequently recovered and restored to their resting-place. From his constant association with the ministers and nobles of the Court of Lucknow, Martine adopted several of the Mahomedan ways of life and thinking. He married a Persian lady named Goree Beebee, or Fair Lady, who, when eight years of age, was sold to him by an

unscrupulous French vagabond named Caré, who went about to the different Native Courts of the period throughout India, selling beautiful Circassian and Persian girls. When Goree Beebee attained the age of fifteen, she was married to Claude Martine. She survived him by several years and lies buried in the mosque in rear of the Martinière, alongside the tomb of Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, who fell at the final capture of Lucknow in 1858, during the storming of the Begum Kothie in Huzrutgung. Up to the present day there may be seen in the Martinière an original painting of this lady by Zoffany.

A very prominent feature in Martine's character was his great hospitality. As a matter of general convenience he permitted European travellers, as well as the English residents of the province of Oudh, in need of a change of air, to have the run of his bungalow "for a month and beyond the month "unless another family wanted it." Thus William Hodges, the celebrated painter, records that, after a fatiguing journey, he arrived at Lucknow suffering from violent dysentery and palpitation of the heart. Martine, hearing of his condition, invited him to his bungalow, where, by great and gentle care and the administration of suitable remedies, Hodges recovered, and, he gratefully attributed his recovery to the tender nursing of Martine. During his stay at Lucknow, Hodges painted several of his famous pictures; amongst them a view of the palace of the Nabob at Mucchhee Bhowan. This was a most picturesque building, presenting the appearance of an ancient castle, and was pleasantly situated on the banks of the Goompti. Unhappily, it no longer exists.

One of the favourite pastimes indulged in at the Court of Lucknow during the reign of Nabob Vizier Asaf-ud-daulah was that of cock-fighting. Like all sports connected with the training of birds and with wild beast fights, cock-fighting is believed to be of Oriental origin. Even to the present day, there are but few sports which afford a better field for gambling to the natives of Lucknow than cock-fighting. The Nabob himself always took a keen and a personal interest in these contests. He encouraged them as a means of bringing together people of all ranks, who, by partaking in the general diversion, became acquainted and entered into good fellowship with each other. At these public exhibitions Claude Martine was generally the central figure. He was probably the most successful breeder of his time in the country, and he made considerable sums of money by his birds. Indeed, the Court of Lucknow soon acquired such a notoriety for cock-fighting, even in England, that Colonel Mordaunt, one of the most enthusiastic cockers ever known, was induced to proceed to Lucknow with his birds to pit them against Martine's. Colonel Mordaunt possessed one of the

best strains of game cocks in England, and had an unbroken record in cock-fighting. After a few contests, however, at Lucknow, he soon discovered that Martine's game-fowls were superior to the best that he himself could ever hope to produce, and he was completely vanquished. A very clever picture was painted by Zoffany of the celebrated main fought at Lucknow in 1786 between Colonel Mordaunt and the Nabob, which contains portraits of the distinguished personages who assisted thereat.

The most conspicuous figure in the crowd is the portly Nabob, with his hands outstretched towards Martine, evidently excited over the issue of the contest that is proceeding between the winged combatants. Somewhat in rear, seated on an eminence, is Zoffany himself, calmly surveying the scene, brush in hand. In the back-ground may be observed the indispensable *nautch* girls, regaling the assembly with the sweet strains of Indian songs; while the *bhisties* with their *mashaqs* are quenching the thirst of the fatigued spectators within and without the huge tent. This excellent picture was long an ornament of the Daulat Khanah—an old palace at Lucknow; Mrs. Parkes in her "Wanderings" mentions having seen it at her visit to Lucknow in January 1831, and describes it as "fast falling into decay." The prints of the picture by Earlom are well known to collectors of valuable engravings, but are now very scarce. In the Shah Najaf of Lucknow, the Mausoleum of Ghiaz-ud-din Haider, the first king of Oudh, there is at present a painting by a native artist which contains traces of the "motif" of this picture. It was painted to order, and from memory, after the Mutiny, to replace a replica of the original which was destroyed during the stirring events of 1857.

A very amusing incident is related of Zoffany during his stay at Lucknow in Claude Martine's house. In a humorous moment, he painted a full-sized picture of Nabob Asuf-ud-daulah in high caricature. It was exhibited in Martine's bungalow, which was a rendezvous for all classes of natives, who daily flocked thither to transact business with Martine. The fact of its existence was, therefore, quickly communicated to the prince. His first impulse was to decapitate the painter and dismiss Martine. Fortunately, however, for the culprit and his abettor, the prince, before taking any action in the matter, sent for and consulted Colonel Mordaunt, the cock-fighter, and mutual friend of the parties concerned in the farce. The Colonel, on arrival, found the prince foaming with rage and about to proceed with a body of rabble attendants to Martine's. The Nabob explained the cause of his great indignation; but Mordaunt, with considerably tact, succeeded in arguing the irate prince into a state of calmness, and induced him to postpone the execution of his vengeance till the following day. Mordaunt

then retired, and, as privately and expeditiously as possible, sent Zoffany intelligence of the storm that was brewing. "No time was lost," relates the chronicler of the incident, "and the laugh-able caricature was in a few hours changed by the magic brush of Zoffany into a superb portrait, highly ornamented, and so inimitably resemblant of the Vizier, that it has been preferred to all that have been taken at sittings. The Vizier did not fail to come, his mind being full of anxiety for the honour of his dignified person, attended by Mordaunt, whose feelings for his friend's fate were speedily dissipated when, on entering the portrait chamber, the picture in question shone forth so superbly as to astonish the Vizier and to sully even the splendour which his equipage displayed on the occasion. Asaf-ud-daulah was delighted, hurried the picture home, gave Zoffany Rs. 10,000 for it, and ordered the person who had informed him of the *supposed* caricature, to have his ears and nose cut off. Mordaunt, however, was equally successful in obtaining the poor fellow's pardon, and, as the Nabob would not detain him as a servant, he very generously made him one of his pensioners."

The house in which this occurrence took place, was the Farhat Baksh, on the banks of the Goompti. It adjoins the Chutter Munzil, and is now used as the station library. It was built by Martine himself, and was sold by him to the Nabob for the fabulous sum of fifty lakhs of rupees. The basement storey contained two caves, or recesses, within the banks of the river, on a level with its surface when at its lowest ebb. In these caves, Martine generally lived in the hot season and remained in them till the commencement of the monsoon, when the rise in the river compelled him to remove. He then ascended another storey to apartments fitted up in the manner of a grotto, and when the further rise of the river brought its surface on a level with these, he proceeded to the third storey, or ground-floor, which overlooked the river at its greatest height. On the next storey above that, a handsome saloon, raised on arcades, projecting over the river, formed his spring and winter habitation. By this ingenious contrivance, he managed to preserve a tolerably equable temperature throughout the different seasons of the year.

During the construction of this building Martine resided principally at a place called Biposi Najafgarh, about sixteen miles east of Cawnpore, where he carried on extensive indigo operations. The present town, known by this name, is erected on the site of Martine's Factory. He held the lease of the estate from the Oudh Government for Rs. 12,000. His nephew succeeded him; but, he being incapable of managing the concern, it became heavily embarrassed, and ultimately the

factory and the gardens passed into the hands of a Hattras Bunniah.

In his artillery yard at Lucknow, Martine frequently amused himself and astonished the Nabob and nobles of his court, by the manufacture of air-balloons. The Prince was so struck with the mechanism of these instruments, and was so anxious to witness some practical experience of the uses to which they could be put, that he commanded Martine to manufacture one large enough to accommodate twenty men in the ascent. Martine at once expostulated and pointed out the perils connected with the experiment. The Nabob, however, bade him proceed with the manufacture, while he undertook to provide the twenty men for Martine. Happily the experiment never came off. During the last fifteen years of his life, Martine was afflicted with a most painful malady. Dreading the prospect of a surgical operation, he elected to treat himself. The self-imposed tortures which he endured in the course of his treatment must have been excruciatingly painful and so difficult of execution, that the record of the circumstance would be open to grave suspicion, were it not vouched for on the positive testimony of most respectable witnesses. At any rate, he effected a complete cure of himself. Some years later, however, he had a relapse, and, as he had not the heart to resort to a repetition of his own treatment, he allowed the disease to take its course, and finally succumbed to it on the 13th September 1800.

Although Martine's position in the Company's service and his subsequent residence in Oudh brought him into contact with all classes of Englishmen, he acquired but an imperfect knowledge of our language; nor was he in any way remarkable for his knowledge of law. Yet, in spite of these disabilities, he chose to write his will in English. Indeed, he appears to have been conscious of his imperfections in these respects. In bequeathing a sum of Rs. 3,50,000 sicca rupees to the educational institution at Calcutta, which bears the name of La Martinière after its founder, he modestly declares that he is "little able to make any arrangement for such an institution," and expresses a hope that either the Government, or the Supreme Court, will devise the best institution for the public good. The chief, and almost the only stipulations prescribed in his brief notice of the subject are, that it shall be for the good of the town of Calcutta; that children of either sex shall be admissible to it, and, after having been educated, shall be apprenticed to some trade, or married; that it shall bear the title of La Martinière; and that an inscription in large, legible characters, that it was founded by him, shall be fixed in some conspicuous part of the building. This vagueness

of specification led to a protracted law-suit in the Supreme Court of Calcutta. It began on 20th June 1816 and was concluded on 10th May 1836. Sir Edward Ryan, the Chief Justice, who decided the case, described it as "one of the most difficult and complicated suits ever presented to any Court." The will contains an express direction that the anniversary of Martine's death shall be commemorated at Calcutta by the grant of a "premium of a few rupees or other thing, and a medal to the most deserving virtuous boy or girl, or both, to such that have come out of the school, or are still in it, and this is to be done on the same day in the month I died. That day those that are to be married are to have a sermon preached at the church to the boys and girls of the school, afterwards a public dinner for the whole, and a toast to be drink'd in memory of the founder." It has not been found practicable to adhere to the matrimonial clause of these injunctions, but in other respects, the directions are observed. He left a large sum for the endowment of a College at Lucknow, which likewise is called after him, by the name of La Martinière. It is also known as Constantia. In reference to this building he says: "My Constantia House is never to be sold. It is to serve as a monument, or tomb, to deposit my body in, and the house is to serve as a College for educating children and men in the English language and religion."

In this flourishing institution, 100 foundationers are fed, clothed and educated free of all charge, and in addition 100 boarders are entertained at a charge less than the average expenditure. "Many of our old foundationers," writes the Principal in his report on the operations of this College for the year 1883, "look back to the school with feelings of affection, showing that it has supplied for them, as well as any school can do, the place of friends and home. A bright future is, in many instances, opened out to gifted, hardworking boys, who, but for the bounty of Claude Martine, would have had but a gloomy look out."

To his relations at Lyons he bequeathed £25,000 and he left a similar sum to the Municipality of that city, to be applied for the benefit of the poor within its jurisdiction. Out of the residue, he provided for his dependants and left large sums for charitable purposes. The will concludes with a curious exposition of the principles by which he regulated his conduct in all his concerns. He declares that self-interest was his sole object in life, that the sins of which he had been guilty were great and manifold, and he ends by praying for the forgiveness of God, which he hopes this sincere confession of his wickedness will avail to obtain.

E. W.

ART. VII.—THE HINDUS OF PURI IN ORISSA AND
THEIR RELIGION.

THE Hindus form more than 96 per cent. of the total population of the District of Puri. Among this number are included the semi-Hinduized tribes, and not without good reason, seeing that it is not easy to draw a sharp line of demarcation between them and the Hindus proper. Between the pure Hindus and the semi-Aboriginal low castes there are several intermediate Sudra castes, which are, in a great measure, made up of non-Aryan elements. The following are the most important castes in Puri :—

Puri Hindus.—Brahmins and Karans (akin to Kayasths of Bengal).

Intermediate Sudra Castes—Bhandari (barber), Chasa Od. (cultivator), Gourah (cowherds), Guduja (artizans), Kamars (blacksmiths), Málákars.

Semi-Hinduized Tribes and Aborigines.—Bauri, Dhobi, Kandra, Harhi, Pán, Kandh, Sávar.

The Brahmins are divided into two well-marked classes, *viz.*, the Vaidiks, or the followers of the Vedas, and the Laukik, or worldly. It is needless to speak here of the Vaidik Brahmins, but the status of Laukik Brahmins is peculiar in Orissa. They are sub-divided into *Sarna* Brahmins, *i. e.*, those who cultivate the *sarna*, or yam, and *Mástán* Brahmins, *i. e.*, those who plough their lands with their own hands. In Bengal, at least, no Brahmin would touch the plough, or himself cultivate garden produce. Sir W. W. Hunter is of opinion that these Laukik Brahmins represent the original Aryan settlers in the district.

Orissa, or Kalinga, was well known to the Indo-Aryans from a very early period, but only as the abode of a primitive non-Aryan race. Bandhayan, one of the earliest of the Sutrakars of the Vedas, divided the then known Hindu world into three zones, or circles, as it were, which were regarded with different degrees of esteem by the Indo-Aryans. Kalinga was included in the third circle—embracing Eastern and Northern Bengal, and the Eastern seaboard, from Orissa to the Krishna River, and some portion of Southern India. This circle was looked upon with such a degree of contempt that a person travelling in it had to expiate the sin by a sacrifice. *

* *Vide* Dutt's *Ancient India*, Vol. II.

It cannot be ascertained with any approach to accuracy when the Aryans first migrated into Kalinga ; but there seems to be little doubt that they immigrated long before it had become a stronghold of Buddhism. An inscription in one of the celebrated Khandgiri caves shows that one Aira was a powerful Buddhist King of Kalinga. The age of King Aira, according to Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, ranged between 416 B. C. and 316 B. C. We touch firmer historical ground when Asoka, that ardent patron of Buddhism, caused a series of edicts to be inscribed on the Dhauli rock, near Bhuvaneswar. One of the edicts clearly shows that there were Brahmins at the time.

In 474 A. C., Yajati Kesari, the first king of the Kesari line, subjugated the Buddhists (the Yavans, as they are called in the Palm-leaf Records in the Jagannath Temple). He is reputed to have brought ten thousand families of Brahmins into Kalinga. The Vaidik Brahmins are their descendants, who set themselves up as Aryans of the highest class, cutting off the *Jus Connubii* between themselves and the Laukik Brahmins.

Next to the Brahmins, come the Karans. They probably represent the Vaisyas of old. The pernicious custom of keeping girls of lower castes in the family still prevails among them to some extent. Their illegitimate children had become so numerous that they now form a caste by themselves called *Shagar peshá*.

There are still a few purely aboriginal tribes in Puri. The Sávars, once a great Kolarian tribe, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, are now a straggling race of day-labourers and woodcutters. They are the Gibeonites of Orissa, and are still outside the Hindu caste-system, their customs being, in most respects, in direct contrast to those of the Hindus. These people are naturally to be found in large numbers, just where the Aryan invasion and conquest by the Aryans would necessarily drive them, *viz.*, in hills and fastnesses. As the stream of Aryan invasion passed from the North southwards, it swept these non-Aryan tribes, who would not bow their necks to the conquerors, into mountains and hills. They remained completely isolated, and were regarded as among the dregs of impurity, eating beef and pork, everything that the Hindus abhor, and worshipping demons, or spirits of their deified ancestors.

As time rolled on, some of these aboriginal tribes migrated into the plains, and, by a process of incorporation and assimilation, became gradually Hinduized and hung loosely on the skirts of the main body of the Hindus, retaining several of their primitive customs. The Kandhs of the hills are a purely aboriginal race with a religion and polity of their own ; but those who have migrated into the plains, have gradually adopted a settled life, copying Hindu rites and becoming fused with

general Hindu community. Mr. W. Taylor, who was the Sub-divisional Magistrate of the Khoorda Sub-division in Puri for more than 15 years, and who knew the people well, thus describes them :—

“ The Khands, or Santias, are both aboriginal tribes, but those inhabiting the Banpur Máls have no connection with the Kandhs and Santias of Gumsoor and Bod. They are, in fact, completely Hinduized. They venerate the cow and observe all Hindu festivals, and, in fact, look upon themselves as Hindus of good caste. . . . The orthodox Hindus of Khoorda look upon the semi-civilized Khands, as of fairly good caste, and will put up in their village, or lodge in the house of a Khandh, although they would consider themselves polluted by doing such things in the villages of Savars, Bauris and other aboriginal races of Khoorda.”

This process of Hinduization, observable even now, must have gone on upon a more extensive scale in times of yore. It should be borne in mind that, in olden times, there were several respectable non-Aryan tribes in India. All of them could not have been savages. We read in the Vedas of wealthy Dasyus and their “ seven castles ” and “ ninety forts,” which shows clearly that they had attained some measure of civilization. It is therefore not unlikely that the Aryan immigrants peacefully settled down on the soil with these respectable non-Aryans, and that, from their amalgamation, arose a mixed population which became in time almost completely Hinduized in religion and social usages, and was ultimately gathered together into separate Sudra castes. Brahmins are employed by these castes for religious and ceremonial purposes, but they are not received on equal terms by the high class Brahmins. It is worthy of remark that the counterparts of some of these Uriya castes in Bengal, *viz.*, the *Nobosaks*, are ministered to by high class Brahmins, and do not allow their widows to remarry, as the Uriya castes do. Among these intermediate Sudra castes in Orissa, it is usual with a widow to marry one of the younger brothers of her late husband. Failing this, she may marry any one not within prohibited degrees. Again, the dead are usually burnt, but recourse is sometimes had to what seems to be the older and aboriginal rite of burial. The caste-system in Orissa thus appears to be more loosely organized, and more plastic than in Bengal, and this makes it possible, on the one hand, for outsiders to be admitted into an already organized caste, and, on the other, for the members of the same caste to raise themselves to membership of some higher caste. For instance, the *Châsas*, an exceedingly numerous caste in Orissa, when they become wealthy, raise themselves to membership of the lower classes of Karans, and assume the respectable title of Mahânti.

Thus Hinduism in Orissa, in its social aspects, while it accepts the customs and internal life of caste as the proper and normal status of that caste, holds out to all an ascending scale of ceremonial purity. The backward aboriginal tribes outside the pale of Hinduism, like the Kandhs, set up a Hindu god, get a Hindu priest to minister to them, adopt some of the customs of the pure Hindus, and thus become, in time, recognized as low-class Hindus. The more energetic, again, of low-castes within the pale of Hinduism, like the *Chásá* Od, gradually raise themselves to higher standards of ceremonial purity, and the more wealthy members among them even raise themselves to membership of some higher castes. It is thus seen that not only does Hinduism in Orissa, even at the present moment, absorb the less civilized aboriginal tribes outside its pale, but there is also a process of evolution in active operation among the recognized Hindu castes themselves. Hinduism certainly has not as yet exhausted its mandate, at all events, in Orissa.

We now come to speak of the religion of the Hindus of Puri. Jagannath is the great god of the people of Orissa. All who call themselves Hindus are entitled to worship him, and, excepting the pronounced aboriginal tribes and those low-castes who are engaged in offensive occupations, all are entitled to enter the precincts of the temple. For the excluded classes, there is an image at the entrance gate called *Patit Paban* Hari, to whom they can offer their homage.

The worship of Jagannath is, for the highest minds among the Hindus, a pure system of theism. To the polytheistic multitude, it offers the infinite phases of divinity as objects of worship, and provides, for their delectation, an infinite number of rituals and ceremonies. In a word, it supplies the spiritual requirements of different classes of Hindus in different stages of their intellectual development. Under its broad all-receptive roof, doctrines the most divergent find a resting place. There you see the learned pundit of the Sankaracharya monastery seeking salvation by the way of spiritual knowledge. Here you find a large number of Saiva Sanyasis voluntarily enduring excruciating torture and misery, and seeking absorption into the Deity by severe austerities. You also see a large number of devotees consecrating their entire soul, as it were, to Hari, with the outpourings of its love and affection. Jagannath is an unsectarian name. All Hindu sects worship at its shrine. The followers of Sankaracharya, Ramanaya, Ramanand, Kabir, Chaitanya, and Nának are to be seen doing homage to the great god. Even the Jains of the Digambara sect flock to the temple at a certain season of the year. The common link of all these sects is

their belief in the supremacy of Jagannath ; and their differences consist in the character which they assign to his supremacy, in their religious and other practices founded on the nature of such beliefs, and in their sectarian marks.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has shown that Puri was an ancient seat of Buddhism ; and the Idols of Jagannath, Baladeb, Subhadra and Chakra are mere copies of the mystic monograms of Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha and the Wheel of the Law. That which was conjectural, or speculative, has been proved to demonstration, by the discovery, fortunately made by us, of an image of Buddha in the Sun Temple, within the enclosure of the great temple. Dr. Mitra says :—" It (the Sun Temple) contains a small image of the sun seated on a car drawn by seven horses. Right in front of the figure on the throne there are the images of Rádhá and Krishna, which cover it from the view of the faithful. The object of thus secreting the figure none would, or could, tell me." Our guide gave different version of the images to be seen in the Sun Temple, which consists of two rooms, inner and outer. In the outer room, there are two metal images—which our guide told us are those of the sun and the moon. In the inner room, which is very dark, there is a small stone image seated on a small car drawn by seven horses. This the priests called Dhammaraj, but there can be no doubt that it is an image of the sun. Behind this small stone image, there is a life-size stone image in a sitting posture, with crossed legs. The interval between these two is so small that it is with difficulty that the latter figure can be seen. The wall against which the image of the sun rests, rises from the middle of the thighs of the sitting figure and almost touches its nose. Accompanied by two friends, we scrutinized the figure with great care ; and no doubt was left in our mind that it is an image of Buddha. The object of thus concealing the image is thus apparent. Hindus are not iconoclasts, they simply hide away the figure from the sight of the faithful.

Puri was for a long time a stronghold of Buddhistic faith. It would appear that, some hundreds of years ago, there stood on the shore of the Bay of Bengal a Buddhist shrine, built on sandstone, and a second shrine more inland. The sites of these shrines were at Puri and Satyabati, about 12 miles to its north. Dr. Mitra has shown that Bhubaneswara (the ancient Kalinga-Nagari) was the capital of a great Buddhist King, Aira, who flourished between 416 and 316 B.C. Asoka recorded his edicts on the Dhauli rock in 242 B.C., and, in the middle of the seventh century of the Christian Era, Huen Tsang, the great Chinese traveller, found that, although Brahmanism was in the ascendant at the time of his visit to Kalinga, Buddhism still

maintained its ground. The Kesari Dynasty gave a currency to the worship of Siva, but was unable to exterminate Buddhism altogether. Kumarila Bhatta and Sankaracharya, in the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian Era, were the most uncompromising antagonists of Buddhistic faith, but they did not produce much impression on the masses. The message of equality preached by Buddhism was grateful to the despised and lowly Sudras, and its superior moral tone commended itself to the conscience of myriads, to whom the learned disquisitions of Brahminic philosophy were a meaningless puzzle. Several Vishnu reformers, or revivalists, then arose and made the worship of Vishnu popular. The doctrine of the identity of Buddha and Vishnu, says Dr. Mitra, which was begun to be preached in the middle of the third century, must have acquired such firmness as to render it easy for Yajati Kesari to give it currency and appropriate the Buddhist shrine of Puri to the service of Vishnu. The Vishnu reformers—Ramanuj, Ramanand and Kabir—changed the doctrinal basis of Buddhism, but retained, to a large extent, the forms of worship, the rites, the code of its morals, and its doctrine of the spiritual equality of man. But still Buddhism did not altogether disappear from Puri. It is stated that, even at the time of Pratap Rudra Deb (1504-1532), of the Kesari Dynasty, there were theological discussions as to the relative merits of Buddhism and Brahminism, and that the king oscillated between the two. It was Chaitanya, the great apostle of Jagannath, who infused altogether a new life into the old Brahminic system, while the vitality of Buddhistic faith was fast oozing out, and converted the masses of Orissa wholesale into Vaisnaism. For eighteen years, he lived and laboured in Puri, engaged in teaching and controversy, and in intent meditation on Hari. He regarded the Supreme Being not merely as an object of highest reverence, but also of deepest love—such love as the milk-maids of Brindaban felt for their beloved Krishna, such love as fascinated the whole soul and expelled all inferior affections and desires. An inscription on the Jaya-Bijaya Gate of the Great Temple, shows that, at his instance, King Pratapa Rudra ordered the mystic songs of Jaydeb to be sung before the Great Jagannath. Before this realistic theology, this conception of a personal Deity, the impersonal abstractions of Buddhism finally succumbed. Chaitanya's dogma of Bhakti, more fascinating, and perhaps easier of practice, than the Buddhist dogma of Karma, stole away the hearts of the masses. Buddhism thus died a natural death, for want of upholders.

But the dying system left certain traces of its influence behind. Within the hallowed enclosure of the temple, caste-distinctions are not recognized ; in the presence of the Lord of the World, all men are equal. In imitation of Buddhist monasteries, several Hindu *maths* have been established. There are now more than two hundred Hindu monasteries in Puri, some of which are richly endowed.

N. K. BOSE, C.S.

ART. VIII.—SOME NOTES ON WORK AND WORKERS
IN A SUB-DIVISION OF THE NUDDEA DISTRICT.

IN the somewhat dreary task of revising Census Schedules and endeavouring to train a host of villagers to perform the by no means easy work of enumeration, one, now and again, came across some not uninteresting local, or even general, popular trait which cannot well survive the process of abstraction, and appear in the published records of the Census. Many details also of the character and life of the villagers which pass under one's daily notice in the Cutcherry and in the field, and from their very familiarity almost escape observation, are brought before one more prominently and with more orderly sequence on seeing the varying lives of the people gradually unfolded in the Census books. I have, therefore, thought it worth while to jot down here my Census reflections on the population among whom I work, much as they have occurred to me during the past few weeks.

In the *Mofussil* area about which I am writing, the most numerous class of workers are the *Cháshás*, or cultivators, and the typical cultivator is a Muhamadan. It is of course true that there are many Hindus occupied in tilling the soil ; but the bulk of the husbandmen are Mussulmans. Of the Hindus, a number are engaged in the simple rural trades which supply the cultivator with the few wants he has over and above his *dál-bhát*. Others, again, belonging to the cultivating castes, and whose ancestors were occupied in ploughing the land, have, in the midst of a duller Muhamadan population, risen above their former station, and perform the literate work connected with the agriculture and trade of the district. Whatever may be the case in the higher social grades, there can be no doubt that, among the mixed peasantry of these parts, the Hindus are more intelligent and more ready to take advantage of an opportunity than are their Muhamadan neighbours.

Chief among those who have risen, through performing the more difficult work incident to agriculture and the trade in agricultural products, are the *Koibartas*. They are cultivators by caste, and formerly were, one and all, cultivators by trade. Now, although many still follow the plough, others are to be found as small landholders, petty grain merchants, zemindary naibs, money-lenders, and the like ; whilst others drift to Calcutta, or enter the terrestrial paradise of the rural native—the service of Government. They are even somewhat ashamed of their former occupations, and caused difficulty during the

Census, by objecting to be entered as what they are—*Chashi-Koibartas*. It was not until the *Shastras* had been examined and one of the chief local *Koibartas* had publicly announced his intention of adhering to his proper title, that they would at all consent to listen to reason.

There are of course *Cháshás* and *Cháshás*. Some are comparatively well-to-do, cultivating, by their labourers, a considerable tract of land ; others, again, raise but a precarious subsistence from a few *bigahs*. The local method of estimating a villager's wealth and position is by the number of his ploughs. Thus, he is known as a one plough man, a two plough man, and so on. There is more in this than meets the eye. The plough itself is not an object of great value ; but here, by the plough, is meant, not only the instrument, but also the cattle who draw it, and cattle are the chief accumulated wealth, the main capital, of the rayats. The system, indeed, reminds one of the method of the Homeric age, in which wealth of all kinds was measured in oxen. The one plough man is only a remove from the labourer, the two plough man is a small yeoman, whilst a villager with four or five ploughs is *bhadra lok*—a substantial person—, and forms one of the *panch jon* who are referred to in matters of strife, and who are looked up to as the great men of the village. A Muhamadan cultivator, however, never grows rich. He may attain to some comfort if blest with sturdy sons and a little foresight, but he rarely rises much above his original position. It is the zemindary servant, the small trader, or, even the artificer, who occasionally makes a little fortune and starts as a petty landlord, but hardly ever the *Cháshá*. This fact is as remarkable as it is to be deplored. Nature has blest these cultivators with a climate and soil of astonishing fertility : broad rivers intersect their country, depositing, year by year, an alluvial silt, in which the scattered seeds burst into life, all the year round ; rich grains cover the surface of the earth, and every season is a harvest time. The Legislature, again, has provided them with a system of tenancy which favours the agriculturist perhaps more than any other land-law known to the jurist. Yet the wealth of the soil never clings to them, and for the most part, they endure a life of hardship and toil, with the reward of but a scanty subsistence. Much has been written in explanation of these facts, and the subject is too large and important a one for me to enter into in the course of these few pages. Stupidity, certain forms of sloth, lack of foresight, but few wants to stimulate to exertion, wastefulness in matters connected with custom and caste, and the practice of satisfying to-day's wants with the produce of to-morrow's labour—traits such as these, indicate, perhaps, the lines on which the investigation must be carried out, and the cure, if there be one, applied.

And surely there must be a cure. for the Bengali is capable, and constantly capable, of much hard work and endurance ; differing, in this respect, widely from the Southern European with whom he is sometimes compared. Picture the life of the *Cháshá* during the months of ploughing and sowing. At dawn he hies him to the fields, his plough borne over the shoulder, attached to it a *hookah*, and a pair of light sandals to protect his feet from the clods. Before him trudge his two bullocks, patient and toilful as himself, possessing, indeed, much in common with him. All through the long morning hours will he scratch at the soil with his tooth-pick of a plough, resting now and again for gossip and a pull at the *hookah*. The *hookah* is the comforter of the *Cháshá's* life, the enduring joy of his existence. He commences to taste of its joys whilst yet in early childhood ; through youth and manhood it is his constant companion, and he lays it down only with his life. At noon-day a longer rest is taken and the mid-day meal devoured. Then to work again, until the villages, dotted over the boundless plain, grow misty in the fading glow, and round them the unsavoury vapours gather in long white wisps. Then home, to oil the body, bathe in the nearest muddy pool, and partake of the frugal supper, with, perhaps, if times are good, a little treat of fish or vegetables. Then more smoking and gossiping, and—to bed. The headmen of the village, who do not work in the field, rise again in the middle of the night, light their *hookas*, and pay conversational visits to their neighbours and friends. But the *Cháshá*, when he lies down to rest, sleeps like a log until, with day-break, the round of toil commences afresh. I cannot but conceive that workers like these are capable of material and social prosperity.

Education is spreading, even amongst the *Cháshás*, and one of the most interesting results of the present Census will be the detailed information given under this head. But education fails, with the *Cháshá*, to produce the effects one might hope to see alongside its development ; for the *Cháshá* takes his education in a quite peculiar way. It is the worthy ambition of a cultivating family to have, at any rate, one of the sons taught in the local *patshala* to read through his nose, to write and to cypher. But it is not expected, or desired, that the youngster, on leaving school, will carry on his ancestral calling with greater energy and skill than his relatives ; on the contrary, it is, amongst the Musulman *Cháshás*, the undisputed privilege of the semi-educated youth never to soil his hands with the plough. Sometimes he enters *Zemindari* or *Mahajani* service, and may rise, whether or not with proportionate benefit to his environment, being, perhaps, a matter of doubt ; but, if he has not the opportunity or inclination to do this, he will, on the strength of his fragment

of learning, idle through the rest of his life, his family being quite content to toil and support him in his dignified ease. There are, however, times when he comes to the fore. His aid is important when a little difference concerning rent or accounts arises with the landlord or mahajan, and even more so when the family enters into litigation. He then becomes a main instrument in the elaborate instruction and rehearsal which precedes the institution or defence of an important case. Not only is the dignity of our young literate shown by his exemption from the labours of the field, he also marks his exalted degree by a change of name. His simple father is a *Shekh*, or, if a three or four plough man, perhaps a *Mandal*; he casts aside such unpretending titles for the dignified epithet of *Bishash*, and as a *Bishash* he idles his life away.

Names form here, as everywhere, an interesting study. The system in vogue is clumsy, owing to the absence of real family titles. When three-quarters of a village are named *Shekh*, *Mandal* or *Bishash*, it stands to reason that the personal name only can be used for purposes of distinction. In these personal names the Muhamadan of Lower Bengal is no richer than ourselves, and he is obliged, therefore, often to have recourse to expedients in order to differentiate several villagers bearing the same title. He uses a number of Hindu names, having, in this, as in other respects, lost many of the marked characteristics that distinguish the two races. Still there may well be three or four *Gopal Shekhs*, *Kubir Mandals*, and the like, in even a small village. The ancient expedient of adding the father's name is not common, and the favourite artifice is to prefix the words *bara* and *chota*, in the sense of senior and junior, thus *Bara Gopal* and *Chota Gopal*. The addition of some epithet denoting a personal quality or peculiarity is often resorted to, and suggests the surname of mediæval history. Here the system is extended in a rather strange manner, the characteristic epithet given to a man being often used to differentiate his descendants from others bearing the same names. I have, on several occasions, heard the expression *Pagla* used in this way, and *Pagla Chandra* and *Pagla Kedar* answered cheerfully and readily to the name, though, every whit as sane as their neighbours. On enquiry, I found that it was a grandfather, or great uncle, who had been afflicted, and that the epithet was used merely for convenience. Very resounding local titles are sometimes given to immigrant villagers who find, on settling in their new homes, that their names are the property of one or more of the residents. In such cases the villagers prefix the new comer's former address to his name, with results that sometimes sound very curious. *Ramkishta-Chandrapur Shital*, for instance, is a high sounding title for a ploughman to carry through life; and not only must

he suffer under its weight, but his descendant, also, perhaps, for several generations. But to return to the *Cháshá*.

Those boys who are not dedicated to the Muses have to commence work in the field at a very early age. The first duty of the child is to graze his father's cattle, and to this he is often set when no more than six or seven years of age. I cannot say that the *Rakhals*, or cow-boys, are a class for whom I have any great affection. They do an amount of mischief quite out of proportion to their years, and, through carelessness, or wrong-headedness, often drag their relatives into the criminal court. They lead their cattle into their neighbours' crops, or allow them to stray whilst playing with their companions a mysterious hopping game, which is the delight of the youth of these parts. The owner of the crop, arriving on the scene, proceeds to impound the animals. The *Rakhal* runs weeping to his father with a tale of oppression and woe. Father and brothers seize their sticks and hurry to the rescue; broken heads and a case in Court are the result. And tradition says, it is to be feared truly, that the *Rakhal* does not always wait for a third party to impound the cattle. If there is a fair, or *mela*, in prospect, and the urchin is in want of pice to purchase a smart cloth, or other luxury, he is not above taking his father's own cattle to the pound, in the hope of a small gratuity from the keeper. When the cattle have been safely lodged, he rushes home distraught, and relates, with voluble eloquence, how the hereditary enemy of his family forcibly took possession of the oxen just as he was driving them along the high way. At about ten years of age, the child is considered capable of taking an occasional turn at the plough, and, when 13 or 14 years old, performs all but the most arduous tasks of the field. But, although the children are sent at a very early age to work in the fields, the women folk of the *Cháshá*, who is any thing of a *Cháshá*, never labour out of doors. They perform rough tasks at home: clean the house, husk the paddy, prepare the fuel and cook the food; yet they could not work for hire in the open without offending the cherished customs of their people. The tenacity with which the idea is adhered to, was strikingly shown in a time of distress which occurred during one of the floods which periodically devastate this district. Copious relief was provided, in the way of work on the roads, but the wives of even the poorest cultivators would have starved rather than availed themselves of it. In the end, occupation had to be found which they were able to carry on within their own doors.

The labourers, with the exception of the *Buna* coolies employed at the indigo-factories, belong to much the same classes as the cultivators, differing from them only in degree of indigence. The line of distinction is drawn between those villagers who

have at any rate one plough, and those who are without cattle, and is thus one of capital, rather than of land. There is, however, no hard-and-fast boundary between the two classes. The labourer often cultivates a little land, the smaller of the cultivators eke out their earnings by occasionally offering their services as hired labourers. With good and bad seasons, the boundary, or bounding zone, advances, or recedes. That the material prosperity of the district is increasing, is proved by the fact that, on the whole, the advance prevails; and that more and more of the labouring classes succeed in gaining possession of ploughs and cattle and rising to the position of small cultivators. Side by side with this advance, there has been a rise in the wages of unskilled labour. Speaking roughly and without consulting statistics, I should say that, during the course of the last decade, the daily wages of the agricultural labourer have risen from six to eight pice. Another feature of the same phenomenon is the complaint of the large cultivators and landowners, that they have a greater difficulty in procuring labourers than used to be the case. It is remarkable that the increase of prosperity amongst the lowest classes to which the above facts unmistakably point, should have been unaccompanied by any increase of population since the date of the last census. The economic condition of the labourers in Bengal, is, I am afraid, not high enough to justify one in assuming that the rise in wages is due to a raising of the standard of comfort, and, without such an elevation of the standard, one would expect an increase in the means of subsistence to be accompanied by an increase of numbers. A partial explanation of the phenomenon may be the heavy cost of marriage ceremonies. The labourer whose relatives cannot save or borrow enough to defray the expenses of his wedding, must remain unwedded; and, as a matter of fact, there are many amongst the labouring classes, Hindu as well as Muhamadan, who do not marry until late in life, or who never marry at all. This acts as a check on the practice of early marriage, and tends to keep down the number of births in the lowest strata of society. Speaking from an economic point of view, this one result of the costly ceremony is satisfactory, since it is just those who are poorest and whose children could do the least for themselves and their environment, who are debarred from early marriage.

The agency whereby the labourer transforms himself into the cultivator, is the *utbandi* or *fasli* tenancy. This system, deplorable as it is on some social and economic grounds, has the great merit of putting the possession of land within the reach of every labourer who has succeeded in collecting some small savings, and thus offers an inducement to thrift which not unfrequently prevails over his inherent disinclination to the postponement of his enjoyments. The *utbandi*

tenancy is simply a year-to-year tenancy, terminable at will of landlord, or tenant, and subject to the customary conditions of the village. The contract is entered into without formality or legal expense. Annually, before the ploughing for the paddy-crop commences, the *utbandi* lands of the village are re-distributed amongst its ryots. With permission of the *Gomashta*, and often without it, any villager may take up as much land as he thinks he can conveniently cultivate. Each man has to some extent a lien on the land he cultivated in the previous year; his rights are, however, undefined and often disregarded. Constantly more than one rayat settles on the same plot, and the distribution is attended with much bickering and jealousy and a series of cases in the criminal courts. When the crops have been reaped, the land is measured by a special *Amin*, and each villager pays at the prevailing rate for the area measured in his name. A labourer with very inconsiderable savings is able to enter into this annual competition. He has merely to hire a plough and bullocks (a course very commonly adopted), gain the ear of the *Gomashta*, fix on a plot, obtain an advance for seed from the local *Mahajan*, and proceed to cultivate. The crop is, at the end of the year, made over to the Mahajan, who, after deducting rent and the repayment with interest of his advance, returns the balance to the rayats. In anything but a good year the rent for the land, repayment for the advance, and hire for the plough and cattle, will swallow up nearly the whole of the produce; but, with a few favourable seasons, the thrifty rayat will be in a position to buy a bullock, thus saving part of the hire and gaining a greater proportion of the produce he raises. In another year or two, he may be able to complete his team and start on the career of a cultivator proper. Every year, after the paddy harvest, there is a considerable migration of labourers in search of work. They leave their families behind, and march either to Calcutta, or to the districts producing the large *Aman*, or winter, rice crops. After a few months, they return, furnished with a little store. This the unthrifty spend on marriages, riotous living and the like; the thrifty lay part of it by for the purchase of cattle.

Another class who derive their income from the soil, are the graziers and milkmen. These belong exclusively to the *Goalla* caste of Hindus, and, with their lank bodies and long lean features, are easily to be distinguished from their neighbours. They, as a rule, combine the occupations of milkman and cultivator. With one exception, these men give more trouble to their neighbours and their Magistrates than any other class of the people, the reason being that they habitually graze their cattle on the village crops. In about the month

of December a cheap pulse, named *kolai*, is grown and largely purchased for fodder. but throughout the rest of the year hardly any special provision is made for the cattle. The fallow lands also are continually becoming more and more confined, as the waste spaces are taken up and cultivated by the *ut-bandi* rayats. Under these circumstances, the *Goalla* finds that the cheapest and most convenient plan is to lead out his herd of cattle by night into the fields, and, whilst they crop the fat of the land, he stands over and guards them with *lathis*. In villages where the milkmen are numerous, the unfortunate cultivator is forced, after his hard day's work, to patrol his land at night and sleep by his crops in order to protect them from these depredations. Often enough he is unsuccessful. Arriving after the animals have finished their meal, he sees them driven off rapidly at his approach. If he gets up to his enemies, a crack on the head is his frequent reward, and I have known a villager pay for his temerity with his life. Cases of this nature are, during certain seasons of the year, of more than daily occurrence, and the villagers, too foolish and too frightened to combine and help themselves, will, as often as not, refuse to give evidence against their despoilers. The *Goalla's* products are much prized, and his occupation, being the exclusive monopoly of a distinct class, furnishes him with considerable remuneration, so that he passes a life of some comfort, as comfort is measured by a Bengali standard. I would never advise a European to taste milk proffered in a rural *Goalla's* earthen-pot ;—the interior is specially prepared.

I have said that, with one exception, the *Goallas* are the most troublesome inhabitants of this neighbourhood ; the exception I had in mind was one division of the *Muchi* caste. The local *Muchis* are divided into two classes, known as *Bara bege* and *Chota bege*. Of these, the first class is inoffensive enough, and, living mainly by tilling the soil, differs in few respects from the Mussulman *Cháshá*. The ostensible means of livelihood of the *Chota bege Muchi* are the skinning of cattle, the working up of leather, and the manufacture of bamboo sandals for the cultivators. In addition to these trades, he not unfrequently carries on the occupations of housebreaker and thief. The majority of serious crimes of this nature are, indeed, laid at his door ; and, though he is, perhaps, sometimes hung for his bad name, he frequently deserves very badly of the law. His business is carried on in a systematic manner, and he is in communication with friends and relatives of his own stamp all over the country side. His receivers are, it is said, men of some substance and importance. They, however, shrink from the inconvenience of publicity, and I do

not know as much about them as I should wish. Even when carrying on the more legitimate trade of a cattle skinner the *Muchi* sometimes resorts to "ways that are mean." In accordance with ancient customs, the rayats give, as a perquisite, to the village *Muchi* the hides of all cattle dying within the village precincts. The privilege is a valuable one; for the hides, which cost nothing to the *Muchi*, realize, when sent to Calcutta, sometimes two rupees, or more, each. In consequence, when animals are healthy and trade is bad, he is occasionally cruel enough to poison a cow for the sake of its skin. The traditional way of doing this—for even crime obeys the dictates of custom—is to creep up to the animal when no one is by, and give it a lump of arsenic wrapped up in a tempting-looking plantain leaf. The cow dies in agony, and the poisoner, as a rule, escapes detection. The *Muchi*, being of very low caste, is not allowed to live within the village, and dwells in a *bari* on the outskirts. To this arrangement he makes no objection, as it is convenient for his nocturnal excursions.

In the district known emphatically as the land of rivers, it is not surprising to find a considerable proportion of the inhabitants engaged in catching and selling fish. The fishermen include both Hindus and Muhamadans. Only Hindus of low caste, such as the *Charals*, can carry on the trade; the Mussulmans who engage in it are also, as a rule, poor and uneducated. It follows, according to a very general rule in Central Bengal, that the two differ very little from one another in manners and customs. They are, on the whole, honest and well-behaved people, and rarely get into difficulties. Complicated questions about *jalkar*, as rights over water are called, in opposition to *talkar*, or rights in the soil, sometimes arise, and occasionally are fought out by *lathials* before they are taken up by the *mukhtiyars*. The Fishery Act of 1889 has done much to put an end to these quarrels, and has proved a great boon to the country. The female members of the family take to the bazar and sell the fish caught by their husbands and brothers, and thus form an exception to the general rule, that the women folk do not directly contribute to the household earnings. Much of the fish is, however, not consumed locally, but is sent down to Calcutta in boats. The most remarkable point about the fishing industry is certainly the number and variety of the expedients whereby the fisherman attracts and catches his prey. It is very interesting to stroll along the banks of a river in the evening and watch the fishermen at their work. Some fresh and ingenious contrivance continually rewards one's attention. One of the most striking and elaborate arrangements is a large net attached to the end of a slanting bamboo, some 20 feet in length, balanced, as a lever,

on uprights and horizontals placed in the middle of the river. The net is lowered by the fisherman walking up the pole and raised by his descending it. The operation, which looks nearly as difficult as tight rope dancing, is repeated every hour or so. This machinery is used by others besides the human fisherman. When he leaves it, his place is often taken by the kite, or fish-eagle, or bright little kingfisher, who will sit for hours on the lofty perch, motionless and intent, ready to dart on the rippled surface. A smaller net, used for casting, is shaped like a long tapering cylinder, the base being open and weighted. The fisherman, standing in the prow of his *dingy*, slings this net over his shoulder and casts it round his head, something in the fashion of a lasso. The operation requires a skill that can only be gained by long practice; for, if it is clumsily performed, the weights of the base do not separate as they touch the water. When the net has been flung, the boat is backed a short distance, and the weights draw closer together; when they meet, net and fish are drawn up. Another plan, peculiar, as far as I know, to Bengal, is to place in the water large wicker-baskets, shaped something like a horn of plenty, and filled with green branches. The fish, attracted by these, enter, get entangled, and are finally pulled out with the basket. Small fish are often caught by placing in the current square cages, through the bars of which the fish are drifted. Another curious method for catching small fish is to fix, floating and upright in the stream, a row of pieces of broad bamboo some two feet in length. Twigs are placed in the hollow of the bamboo, and the fish apparently get entangled amongst them. Spearing by moonlight is the most exciting method in use. The rod and line are only patronized by baboos and small boys in search of sport.

Chief among the artificers is, perhaps, the *Chutar Mistri*, or carpenter, who is generally a Hindu. He is mainly engaged in the manufacture of boats, cart wheels, ploughs, rakes, house-doors and chests. His tools are simple, and his main capital is the inherited skill of ages. The construction of a boat, with the rude implements at the artizan's command, is, in some ways, a marvel of ingenuity, and is a striking example of the way inherited skill can take the place of complicated machinery and educated intelligence. When completed, the lines of the vessel are graceful and the work is durable and neat; the craft, however, is not seaworthy, and any one, who has been through heavy water in a *dingy*, or even in the larger country boat, will have no desire to repeat the experiment. In manufacture the keel is first laid; a very little in the way of ribs is added, and then the thin lathe planks are fastened on in a manner that is a mystery of skill. Even a plough

is not altogether the simple instrument it looks, and a connoisseur will distinguish between two which are to the layman of practically identical form, and will point you out many a little defect or blemish. A skilful carpenter thus gains considerable local reputation, and has customers living a good many miles from his village. The preparation of the doors and thatch is almost the only work of house construction which the *Cháshá* does not himself perform, with the assistance of his family, and, perhaps, a few labourers. The building of the mud walls of a new *ghar* is an event full of joy for the younger members of the family, who revel for weeks in the glories of an idealized mud pie. The door, with its frame, is of course supplied by the carpenter; the making of the thatch is entrusted to a special artificer named a *Ghorami*. The thatch is by far the most valuable part of the house, and if the habitation is abandoned or destroyed whilst the thatch is not yet worn out, it is carefully removed and re-erected over the new home. Large fields of the particular sort of long grass used in thatch-making, are studded over the country side, and form a characteristic and beautiful feature in the landscape. To the planters these meadows are known as the likeliest spot for pig. The grass fetches a high price—from six to twelve rupees an acre—, and, in the hot weather, when many houses are destroyed by fire, the rayat is sometimes put to great straits for want of it. The villagers are astonishingly careless in the use of fire. A palsied old woman, who can scarcely see, is allowed to cook the family meal in a thatched room, dry as tinder. She overturns the fire-pot and totters, all unconscious, away. Half an hour afterwards the village is in a blaze. Fortunately the property destroyed is not very valuable, and, if the landlord makes a present of thatching-grass, a few weeks' labour reconstructs the village, which is all the better for the purification it has undergone. I never fully realized the humour of Charles Lamb's "Origin of Roast Pig" before witnessing these scenes.

After his plough, his cattle and house, the domestic utensils are the *Cháshá's* chief requirements, and form nearly the whole of his remaining wealth. The potter, a *Kumar*, and the brass-worker, a *Kansari*, supply all that he needs in this line. The purchase of new pots and pans is quite an event in the family; and the experienced old house matron will, with the knowing and anxious air of a connoisseur, flip the pottery with her finger nail, to see if it rings true, and cause quite as much trouble as a lady at the stores before she has cheapened the article to her satisfaction. Brass dishes and bowls are quite a speciality of this part of the country, and the artificer, with the aid of fingers, toes, and a hand-lather produces, at a very cheap rate, a durable and not inartistic ware.

The gold and silver smiths (*Sarnakars*), and the workers in shells, provide the women folk with their ornaments. The former are Hindus, of the usual industrial type, the latter deserve special notice. They are all *Pals*, of the *Kalu* caste, and congregate in numbers in two or three villages of the subdivision. The work they produce is of distinct beauty, and the methods and result are quite peculiar to them. Apart from their work, they are troublesome people. The demand for their wares being extensive, and the production being limited to a few families, they are able to command a high monopoly price, and are, in consequence, usually substantial and well-to-do persons. Unfortunately, instead of using their opportunities for their industrial and social advancement and for the better education of their children, they waste their substance on caste revelry and quarrels with their neighbours. They are very tenacious of old customs, and are great on caste processions, organized singing parties, and the like. They are also always ready, on the most flimsy pretext, for a fight, or for legal proceedings. I have known a riot arise and a village be set by the ears for months, because one band of singers were jealous of a rival party's superior vocal attainments.

With this description of a not very satisfactory part of the community, my rambling notes end. The account I have given is cursory and incomplete; there are many classes and traits on which I have not touched, and others I have only been able to glance at. Perhaps, however, I have written enough to show that, even in a few square miles of Bengal Mofussil, there is a society fully as complex and as interesting as that of more advanced neighbourhoods, and that in the common life of the people there is much to repay careful study and observation.

R. NATHAN, B.A., C.S.

February 1891.

ART. IX.—KULINISM AMONGST THE BRAHMINS IN BENGAL.

Independent Section.

THE subject of my present article is Kulinism amongst the Brahmins in Bengal. This body is divided into three great classes,—the *Rarhyas*, the *Barendras*, and the *Vaidiks*. The *Rarhyas* live principally in the Eastern, Western and Central districts of Bengal; the *Barendras* live generally in the Northern districts of Pubna, Bogra and Rajshahye, and in Murshedabad and Mymensingh; while the *Vaidiks*, whose number is very much smaller than that of the *Rarhyas* or *Barendras*, are found scattered in almost every district. They are divided into two classes, the *Dakshini* (Southern) and the *Paschatya* (Western). Those coming from the South, Nagpore and its neighbourhood, and settling in Bengal, are known as *Dakshini Vaidiks*, and those coming from Mithila (Modern Tirhoot), and settling in Bengal, as *Paschatya Vaidiks*.

I shall first of all take up Kulinism as it prevails amongst the *Rarhya* Brahmins. Most of the Hindu readers of the *Calcutta Review* are probably familiar with the history of Kulinism amongst the Bengal Brahmins. Nevertheless, a very brief account of it may not be uninteresting to the general reader. In the latter end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century of the Christian Era, there lived in Bengal a king named Raja Adisur, whose capital was in Bikrampore, at Rampal, near Munshigunge, in the district of Dacca. He was a very powerful Hindu ruler, of the Physician, or Vaidya caste. The spread of Buddhism had been very extensive, and its influence widely and strongly felt throughout the country. In Bengal it had been so thoroughly established, that in the time of Raja Adisur there was hardly any Brahmin in the country, conversant with the Shastras, who could officiate at ceremonies and sacrifices. Raja Adisur had no son, and, being desirous of performing the *Putreshti*, or son-getting sacrifice, he searched the country for learned Brahmins, but could find none to satisfy him. Accordingly, at the suggestion of his General, Birbahu, he wrote to Raja Birshinha, of Kanykubja, or Kanouj, then the most important centre of Hindu learning and religion, to send to his capital five Brahmins well versed in the Vedas and other sacred scriptures. Bengal was at that time regarded as a very sinful land, and whoever went there, except for pilgrimage, became degraded.

অক বক কলিঙ্গেষু মগধ সৌরাষ্ট্রযুচ ।

তীর্থ যাত্রাং বিনা গচ্ছন্ পুনঃসংস্কারম্ ইতি ॥

Whoever journeyed to Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Magadh and Sourashtra, except for pilgrimage, required a second expiatory ceremony.

The Raja of Kanouj at first returned a haughty and discourteous reply to Adisur's request, and it was only after a hard fight that he was compelled to send the required Brahmins. The Brahmins were known as Daksha, Bhattanaryan, Sriharsa, Bedgarva and Chhandor, and they belonged to the five gotras—Kasyapa, Sandilya, Bharadwaja, Sabarna and Batsya, respectively.

They came on horseback, attended by five companions, and fully armed for the perils of the long and tedious journey from Kanouj to Rampal. When they reached the capital of the King of Bengal, Raja Adisur was slow in receiving them, as he was not a little puzzled at the peculiar military dress of the strangers. The Brahmins, having arrived at the gate, pressed for an interview, and, not meeting the Raja, put their *Asirbad*, or benedictory offerings, on a withering *Gazari* tree, which thereupon instantaneously regained its beauty and freshness. This was the tree to which the elephants of Raja Adisur used to be tied. The writer has been to Rampal and has seen a *Gazari* tree, which tradition still identifies with the one hallowed by the touch of the Kanouj Brahmins. When Adisur heard of the miraculous power of the new comers, he came out, and, with folded hands, begged pardon of them. Ultimately he induced them by large presents of money and land to settle in his country. The Brahmins became Kulins in the Brahmin community, and four of their companions became Kulins in the Kayastha community. The nine attributes which made up a Kulin in those days were purity, humanity, learning, fame, pilgrimage, uprightness, peacefulness, devotion, and charity :

আচারো বিনয়ো বিদ্যা প্রতিষ্ঠা তীর্থ দর্শনম্ ।

নিষ্ঠাশান্তি শুপোদানং নবধা কুল লক্ষণম্ ॥

The descendants of the Kanouj Brahmins having greatly multiplied, Raja Ballala Sena classified them first into *Rarhyas* and *Barendras*, those settling in the Rarh country becoming *Rarhyas*, and those settling in *Barendra Bhumi* becoming *Barendras*. In those days the land west of the Bhagirathi was called *Rarh desa*, and the land bounded on the west by the Mahananda, south by the Pudma, and east by the Rorotaya, was known as *Barendra Bhumi*. Ballala Sena's next work

was a division of the *Rarhyas* into *Kulins*, *Srotrias* and *Bangshajes*, according to the merit and qualifications of the parties. A similar division was made amongst the *Barendras* also. Population increasing still further, a second classification was made in the time of Raja Lakhsmana Sena. In order to keep up the genealogy of the *Kulins* and to distinguish them from others, a class of men grew up who became known as *Kulacharjyas* (heralds), *Ghataks*, or match-makers, whose influence on our society has been very great.

At the present day there are amongst the *Rarhya* Brahmins three classes of men—*Kulins*, *Srotrias* and *Bangshajes*. A *Kulin* considers it a great honour to marry the daughter of a good *Srotria*, while he loses his Kulinism by marrying the daughter of a *Bangshaja*. A *Kulin* can marry the daughter of a *Kulin*; but amongst the *Kulins* themselves there are thirty-six *melas*, and a *Kulin* of one *mela* cannot marry into a different *mela*. These *melas*, therefore, act as sub-castes, prohibiting marriages between two different *melas*. They originated almost in the same way as the *Daldalis* of a Bengal village originate. The *Daldalis* of the present day are often the offshoot of malice and party-spirit, but they generally subside. But these *melas*, though very feeble in their origin, have been kept up by the strenuous persistence (worthy of a better cause) of the *Kulins* themselves, and the guilty and selfish support of the *Ghataks*. So long as the *Kulins* were few in number, the mischief proceeding from the *mela*-system was imperceptible; but now that their number has increased, it has in many cases become a difficult problem for a *Kulin* how to get his daughters married. The *mela* is not the only obstacle he has to grapple with. Next to the *mela* is the *parjya*, which is as great an obstacle in the way of the marriage of *Kulin* girls as the *mela*.

The reason why amongst the *Kulins* there is a strong desire to marry *Srotria* girls is, firstly, the important social position ascribed to the *Srotrias* in *Rarhya* society, they being superior to the *Bangshajes*; secondly, the *Srotrias* were generally men of property, and hence a selfish and natural desire to marry into an opulent family. The fact is that, as things stand at present, the *Kulins*, while they enjoy the greatest facilities for the marriage of their sons, experience the greatest difficulty in marrying their daughters. A man's Kulinism depends not at all on the marriage of his son, but on that of his daughter. Kulinism is what the *Ghataks* call *Kanyagata* (কন্যাগত), i.e., it follows the marriage of the *Kanya*, or daughter. The *mela*-system—by restricting, narrowing, and confining the *Kulins* within specified limits—has proved a great bar to the marriage of their girls. The *parjya*-system acts no less power-

fully in the same direction. The *parjya* may be exemplified thus:—*A* marries his daughter to a particular Kulin, *B*. *A*'s son's daughter is to be married to another Kulin, who, in point of kindred, is one degree removed from *A*. If this order is not followed there is *biparjya* (বিপর্যয়), and the *Ghataks* say (নিপর্যয়ে কুলং নাস্তি), there is no Kulinism in *biparjya*. Owing

to the great difficulty of finding husbands for their girls, the Kulins are compelled sometimes to marry four or five of them to one and the same husband at one and the same time; and thus the death of one husband sometimes causes the widowhood of four or five females. This statement is no exaggeration, but a terrible truth, as every reader can see for himself in many a family in East Bengal. Happily, education is working some changes in the existing order of things, but they are very slight. The professional *Ghataks*, who flatter the vanity of the Kulins, will not give way. Unless the Kulins rise up, no reform will be possible. Kulinism is their very life, it affects them in many points. It serves their worldly ends, and they cannot afford to lose it altogether. But if they cannot lose it, they can certainly reform it, and so mould it as to suit present circumstances.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell at great length on the miseries and disadvantages brought on our society by the *mela* and the *parjya* systems. They are too well-known. The leaders of the *Rarhya* Somaj ought to look to the interests, not of their sons alone, but of their daughters and sisters as well. As I have said before, the *mela* and the *parjya*—by restricting, narrowing and confining the Kulins within specified limits—have proved to be great barriers to the marriage of their girls. Amongst the *Rarhya* Kulins there are 36 *melas*, of which the Khardah, the Fulia, the Sarbanandi, and the Ballavi are the chief. Of the first two, it is difficult to say which is superior, the *Ghataks* always evading the point. A *mela* is defined by the *Ghataks* as a combination of weak points, দোষাণাং মিলনং মেলঃ. Whenever a Kulin was found marrying in inferior, Srotria families, or otherwise acting improperly, his friends, relatives and others who followed him, formed a party, or *mela*. Similar circumstances would give rise to another party, or *mela*, and between these parties there would be no inter-communication in the matter of food or marriage. The *melas* arose, therefore, as I said before, in the same way as the *Daládalis* of a Bengal village. In course of time the restriction in the matter of food disappeared, that on marriage alone remaining, and proving to us, the present Kulins, a great curse. Flimsy, and sometimes even sentimental, as the origin of the *melas* is,

we do not see why, at the present day, we should cling to the *melas* with such pertinacity, worthy of a better and nobler cause. The present leaders of the Kulin society argue that the abolition of the *melas* is tantamount to the abolition of Kulinism altogether. To this, my reply is, that I want to go back to the state of Kulin society prevailing before the time of Devibar Ghatak, who classified the Kulins into the different *melas*. I do not want to do away with Kulinism altogether, but to have that portion of it done away with which compels the Kulins, for want of eligible bridegrooms, to keep their daughters and sisters unmarried up to the age of twenty, and sometimes, even thirty or forty years. I want to have that portion of it done away with which compels them, for the same want, to marry two, three or four of their daughters and sisters to one and the same husband at one and the same time. I want to have that portion of it done away with which renders polygamy almost a necessity and holds us up to the ridicule of the civilized world. Thus polygamy, which is an offence punishable by the criminal courts in almost every civilized country, has become a thing of everyday occurrence in Kulin society. Polygamy has become a profession, nay, an instinct, with the Kulins; and it will not be very wrong if I define a Kulin as a marrying animal. I want to do away with that portion of Kulinism which, by allowing marriages between prohibited degrees, violates the precepts of Yajñayalkya, Katyayana and Brihaspati, the sacred legislators of old. Marriages between prohibited degrees have gone very far in our society, as the common Bengali proverb কুলীনের এমনি ধারা, বোন, খাশুরী ভাগিনা শালা will suffice to explain. Such is the practice amongst the Kulins that a sister sometimes becomes a mother-in-law and a sister's son a brother-in-law. This relation, of course, can exist in case of more marriages than one.

The leaders of Kulin society are disobeying the sacred Codes at almost every step; they have sacrificed their conscience, reason and sense of justice at the altar of the *mela* and the *parjya*. Their Kulinism has become a huge and terrible monster of iniquity; and the worst part of it is, that they feel and understand the disadvantages, but have not the moral courage to throw off this thralldom.

One great abuse has crept into *Rarhya* society which I connect with Kulinism. Kulins are very eager to marry Srotria girls. Only wealthy and influential Srotrias can satisfy the various demands of a Kulin son-in-law. *Srotrias* themselves are not free to marry anywhere except amongst Srotrias and *Bangshajes*. It is to the inordinate desire of the Kulins to marry Srotria girls, and the equally great anxiety of the

Srotrias to marry their daughters to Kulins, that the practice of charging an extravagant bride-price has found admission into our society. No one can deny the viciousness of the practice, and, although I may be partially wrong in my theory as to its origin, there is no doubt that it has something to do with Kulinism.

The practice of exacting an excessively high bride-price from *Srotrias* and *Bangshajes* compels them, as a matter of business, to marry wherever they can get girls cheap. Some thirty years ago the practice of marrying ভরার মেয়ে, *Varar Méyé*, was in full force in Bengal. Every member of a Bengali Hindu family knows well what is meant by *Varar Méyé*. Adventurers and speculators explored Sylhet, Jaintia, and the Khasi Hills for the collection of girls to be brought down for sale.

A regular trade was kept up in the purchase and sale of daughters. It is highly probable that, in such miscellaneous collections, girls of non-Brahmin classes would find entrance. And although, now, owing to the strong hand of the British Government, ভরার মেয়ে, or collected girls, have ceased to be imported, many *Srotria* widows can be pointed out who cannot give a satisfactory account of their parentage. At the present day some poor *Srotria* families, who had themselves from time immemorial honored Kulins, or made কুলক্রিয়া (Kulin alliances) by giving their daughters in marriage to Kulins, are now on the verge of extinction, because they cannot afford to pay so highly for their own marriage. Some of these poor *Srotrias* marry girls of very obscure and inferior origin, because they can get them cheap, or at no price at all. Such marriages often give rise to *Daládalis*, which very soon subside; the daughters born of such inferior females are *Srotria* girls, and, as such, fit persons whom the Kulins can, and even consider it an honor to marry. Now, the object of Kulinism is, if I understand it aright, to maintain purity of blood in a certain class, or certain classes, of men. The practice of charging an excessively high bride-price causes, directly, or indirectly, the infusion of inferior blood in *Srotria* and Kulin families. That is certainly not an object in any way desirable. Our sacred Legislators have laid down that for a father it is most noble to give away his daughter in marriage to a worthy bridegroom after having got her dressed with the finest clothes and decked with the most precious jewels that his means can command. No price is to be charged for her. According to Yajnyavalkya, the sale of human beings degrades a man.

By contact with daughter-selling Srotrias, the Kulins become degraded also. But we have long ceased to revere our Shastras. We have thrown away the precepts of our sacred Rishis; we do not care to obey them any longer. We keep our daughters and sisters unmarried beyond the age of puberty; we marry three, four or five females at one and at the same time; we marry in the lifetime of one wife for no fault of hers; we marry easily and forsake our wives equally easily; of the many wives we marry we care not to support any, excepting, perhaps, in some cases, the Srotria daughter. All these things we do, and we are still Hindus. As I remarked before, marriage has become a profession with us Kulins, and we are so many marrying animals. Hinduism, pure and simple, has long vanished from our land, and, in its place, stands that terrible monster, custom, whose influence has become mightier than the precepts of the Rishis. Kulinism, with its numerous evils and defects, supported by the Kulins themselves and the selfish and unscrupulous *Ghataks*, is but a member of that terrible monster, custom.

The evils of the present Kulin society are such as to demand the serious attention of its leaders. If there is any society in this country which urgently and loudly calls for reform, it is ours. If the Kulins themselves will not move, it will, sooner or later, be necessary for the Legislature to interfere. No civilized Government can long tolerate practices which are opposed to all principles of reason and morality. A slight modification of Section 494 of the Indian Penal Code can put an end to polygamy, in the same way as *Suttee* was put an end to by Lord William Bentinck. The leaders of Kulin society ought to be up and doing, and not to give any opportunity for the Legislature to interfere. Legislative interference in such matters will mean the putting of a formidable power in the hands of the Government, which may at any time be used against the very life of the society itself.

NIL KANTA CHATTERJEE, M.A., B.L.

Mymensingh.

X.—LUX MUNDI.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

LUX MUNDI is a great book, and worthy in every respect of the long-established reputation of the Church of England for profound scholarship, and deep, fervent, and yet symmetrical piety. Its style is pure, its vocabulary chaste, its range of thought magnificent, and its tone of argument calm and impressive. The variety of subjects treated of in it is rich, and the measure of erudition, logical acumen, philosophical perspicacity and spiritual insight brought to bear on each, is a marvel. The writers whose essays on the profoundest of the questions of the day constitute the flesh and bones, the muscle and brawn, of the book, are evidently giants in scholarship as well as experts in religious experience ; and, though amid the feverish bustle of the highly complicated life of these days, their lucubrations are sure to be forgotten, or shelved, even before they have been properly weighed in the balance of public opinion, their bold stand, in the midst of the breach between orthodoxy and what is called the advanced thought of the age, in defence of truth, will be pointed to by the future historian of the Church with retrospective admiration. Their attempt, however, to conciliate, at one and the same time, the champions of orthodoxy and the champions of scepticism may be characterized as a magnificent failure. They courageously come forward with some concessions to effect a reconciliation between two conflicting tendencies of thought ; but these have, as a matter of fact, failed to satisfy the two parties they are anxious to weld into a brotherhood united by a community of faith and practice. By the one party they are regarded as conceding too much, and by the other they are held up as conceding too little.

The book is epoch-marking, but by no means epoch-making. It portrays, incidentally, but with characteristic fidelity, the sceptical tendencies of the age ; and therefore the epoch through which the world is now passing is mirrored, or imaged, under its bright tissues of thought, sentiment and reasoning ; but it must be admitted that its method of encountering the foes whose existence and hostile operations it indicates, is generally regarded, especially where it has the charm of novelty, as in the first place compromising, and in the second inadequate, and therefore one of those efforts the object of which is to satisfy all parties, but the issue of which is general disappointment.

The book, therefore, does not inaugurate a new era of interpretation and defence, and its influence, like that of most books read and shelved in these days, is fated to be evanescent.

Like some beautiful rock, thrown up by a variety of mighty forces engaged in dire revolutionary conflict in the bowels of the earth, *Lux Mundi* has sprung out of a cataclysm of thought and feeling. There have been periods in the history of the world of intellectual ferment, sceptical ebullition, atheistic tendencies and demonstrations, of blatant, boisterous infidelity on one side, and panic-struck, retreating faith on the other. But the present age rises above them all in the vastness of its operations, the magnitude of its influence, the freshness and complexity of its materials and methods, and the multiplicity of its weapons both of attack and defence; in the vigour and creativeness of its thought and the boldness and wildness of its speculation; in both its destructive and constructive genius. It is a *scientific* age, and science is in all its departments piling up facts, elaborating theories, discovering laws, and manipulating generalizations to wreak its vengeance on the Church, by which its soaring flight has at times been wrongfully restrained. It is a *philosophical* age, and philosophy is testing, by the criterion of its tough and inexorable logic, the roots of our knowledge, our primal assumptions and beliefs, overhauling and reviewing the most venerable of human creeds, and loosening their hold on the public mind by its novel phraseology, novel definitions and theories, or by reviving its old achievements in the region of pure thought, and presenting them in a new, attractive garb. It is a *critical* age, and criticism is engaged with its sharp knife in dissecting the religious books of the world, especially the Bible, discovering anachronisms and discrepancies, shifting events from one age to another, questioning the genuineness of some venerable documents and the authenticity of others, and noticing mythological development where the world has seen nothing but historic certainty. It is an *economic* age, and its numerous struggles between capital and labour, poverty and wealth, classes well fed and classes ill-fed, between the nobility in purple and the peasantry in rags, have been seized by all parties as bases of attack on a Church which has failed to hold an even balance between rival communities and jarring interests. It is a *socialistic* age, and socialism, in its persistent attempts to undermine, disintegrate and overturn the present fabric of society, and reconstruct it on new principles, finds it necessary to declare a war of extermination against a Church which is indissolubly associated with the society it is intended to destroy and rebuild. All the forces of the age are in the hands of

unsanctified, conceited, self-sufficient persons of all grades and both sexes, arrayed against religion in general and Christianity in particular.

But the greatest opposition to Christianity in these days, as in all preceding ages of the history of the world, proceeds from the prevailing *luxury* and *frivolity*. Human beings are, to adopt a vulgarism, top-heavy ; and they egregiously fail to balance themselves between conflicting forces of thought and feeling, or between the two extremes, which imply the defect of truth on one side and the excess of truth on the other. Such being the case, the history of the world is, and cannot but be, a history of action and reaction, of rushing, dashing heedless movements forwards and backwards, of onslaughts and retreats. In times gone by, the history of Christianity was more or less thoroughly the history of asceticism ; of cenobites, monks, preaching friars, and shouting flagellants ; of hermitages, convents, brotherhoods and sisterhoods. Monasticism was in the air, religion was separated from the world, the soul was detached from the body, theology was put in antagonism to science, the occupations and recreations of life were looked down upon with supreme contempt, and sequestration from them and self-torture were looked upon as essential to the development of piety, especially in its loftier types and phases. From the root-error of the inaccurate, one-sided, exaggerated views which fed monastic seclusion and penance in bygone ages, modern times have witnessed a reaction—a reaction impetuous, violent, unreasoning and unreasonable. The two great generalizations of the age are the unity of man and the unity of science. The distinction between religion and the world has been wiped out, along with the universally recognized distinctions between religious and secular science, between the body and the soul, between piety and secularity, between the saint and the man of the world ; and the gospel of work, the gospel of secularity, the religion of humanity is preached in a voice more or less stentorian, and with a dogmatism before which that of churches and creeds pales into insignificance. But the world is paying the penalty of an impetuous movement from one extreme to another ; and now epicureanism is in the air. The soul has been starved out, and all that remains is the body. Material comforts, material conveniences, and material pleasures are being multiplied indefinitely ; and religious exercises, prayers, fasts, vigils, and holy contemplations are run down with an air of superior knowledge and a smile of self-complacency. Life apart from the world has given place to life in the world and for the world ; and the intense, exclusive activity of which the world is the starting-point, the highway and the goal, is developing its hidden resources with marvellous facility, and

scattering over its wide surface the trophies of discovery and invention, clearing its wastes, beautifying its face, and piling up on its heaving bosom superfluities and luxuries such as our ancestors never could foresee even in their most pleasant dreams. But, constituted as men are, they are ill at ease with such exclusive devotion to the things of this world; some panacea is needed to soothe their consciences; and this is abundantly supplied by the atheistic and agnostic theories of the age. No wonder that the epicureans of the day, whose number is rapidly increasing, flock around the flag of infidelity, and regard with bitter opposition the religion which condemns their exclusive secularity, or the Church which firmly places the soul and its concerns above the body and its affairs, and points to preparation for eternity as the *first* business of life.

But the most prolific source of infidelity in these days is self-opinionated, pompous frivolity. One cannot help admiring the tone of reverence with which the scientific investigations and achievements of the day are alluded to in the book under review, and the courtesy and respect with which the champions of scepticism, great and small, and their followers are treated. But is there not a dash of morbid sentimentalism in the picture presented of their intellectual difficulties and moral perplexities? Can they as a body be held up, with any degree of justice, as men and women led by earnest thought and high moral purpose, deep questionings of the intellect and the heart, the agony of long-continued spiritual struggle, into unbelief and agnosticism? The very best of them have been betrayed into a non-recognition, if not denial, of the instinctive, primary beliefs of humanity, our moral intuitions, by something wrong either in their mental constitution or in their methods of procedure, not certainly by the lofty spirit of doubt, or by an earnest spiritual struggle. When a man of thought contemplates the concatenated order of nature, its unity of aim, complexity of means and beauty of adaptation, without the slightest recognition of an idealizing, planning, controlling, regulating mind, there is presumably something wrong either in the structure of his inner self, or in his education, or in his *modus operandi*. A subtle pride of opinion, a desire more or less latent not to be confounded with the mass in matters of enquiry and belief, a love of singularity in the depths of the heart scarcely noticeable, an obliquity of the heart, not perhaps seen in its true light, leading to an obliquity of the head, is responsible for the small beginnings of that scepticism which, when matured, becomes brazen-faced and heedless of consequences. The fault may lie at the door of education, rather than of mental perversity, as in the case of John Stuart

Mill, who drank scepticism with his mother's milk, and lisped scepticism on his father's knee. But that which leads a class of lofty minds to scepticism is ably pointed out in one portion of the book itself, *viz.*, the self-sufficiency which leads an expert in one department of science to dogmatize in another. So long as a geologist, for instance, pursues in a right spirit, and with proper qualifications, his own line of investigation, the blessing of heaven, or the Spirit of Christ, as the book says, accompanies him, and the discovery of truth rewards his toil; but when, elated with his success in one sphere of science, he appears as an authority and a dogmatist in another, say astronomy, he cannot but lose his balance, stagger and fall into error. The physicist has marked his path by splendid triumphs and arrived at some glorious truths and generalizations; but these do not authorize him to jump out of his select field of study and research, and dogmatize in the higher sphere of religion and morals. And it is because he pursues an unauthorized and arbitrary course, that he is left to himself by the Spirit of Christ, and gropes and fumbles and ultimately loses himself in a dark maze of errors.

But let us grant that men like Huxley and Tyndall, and women like Harriet Martineau and George Eliot are led by the deep questionings of a lofty intellect and a pure spirit into the void and vacuity of agnosticism, what shall we say of the numerous young men and young women who are drawn towards their standard by a mere smattering of science? Where shall we find in the career of these half-educated, self-sufficient disciples, the spirit of agonizing doubt and earnest thought to which the scepticism of the masters and mistresses is traced? Surely they are led, not by deep questionings, but by vanity, pure and unadulterated, to swell the ranks of infidelity. They wish to appear above their level of thought and attainment, or pass for men and women of high culture and originaive power, and it is this ludicrous vanity,—not any emotion which can even by courtesy be called lofty,—that leads them to shake their heads at Christian doctrines, of which they know as little as they do of science, and parade infidel notions with an assumed modesty. They are the worthy brothers of that numerous class of thoughtless persons who become conservative in politics, simply because they wish to appear above their rank; and to speak to them in the tone of courtesy and respect characteristic of *Lux Mundi* is tantamount to waste of powder and shot. But below these raw youths, who, though brought up in University Colleges, may, in view of the ideal of education to which the homage of the age is paid, be called half-educated, there is a numerous but motley crew of empty-headed and blatant infidels, who oppose Christianity because Christianity frowns

on their lusts. Satan has, as an American writer suggests, a double propaganda for the spread of infidelity,—the propaganda of pride and the propaganda of lust; and pride and lust, we maintain, can explain all those types of sceptical thought, which are doing mischief among the educated, and literally brutalizing men and women beneath their rank.

But why not adopt in controversies with them a conciliatory tone, and speak to them as if they were led astray by the lofty spirit of doubt, rather than by low desires and low ambitions? For the simple reason that the more courtesy you show them, the more likely are they to be inflated with a false idea of their importance. Coleridge's master, from whom he received his elementary education, was a rigid disciplinarian, and thoroughly understood the principle, "Spare the rod and spoil the child." Once the future poet and philosopher absented himself from Church, and, when asked to state his reason for his absence, said—"Sir, I am an infidel!" "I will flog your infidelity out of you," said the enraged teacher, and immediately the rod was brought and vigorously applied to the obstinate truant's back; and the *argumentum baculinum* did what better arguments could not possibly have done:—it drove infidelity out of his head, and, up to the last day of his life, he spoke with gratitude of the wisdom of the course pursued by his master. It is sometimes both right and expedient to answer a fool according to his folly.

The book errs, perhaps on the right side, in attaching to the theory of evolution an importance to which it is not at all entitled. Evolution is justly said to be the category of the age, and it plays a conspicuous part in the literature of the day, both permanent and ephemeral, modifying its phraseology, altering its tone of thought and reasoning, and revolutionizing its spirit. It has descended, moreover, from what may be called the cloister to the market-place, from academic groves to marts of business. "Not to know me," says Satan to Death, "argues thyself unknown!" Not to know evolution, not to employ and utilize the phraseology which it has rendered fashionable, not to be *en-rapport* with the varieties of speculation that have gathered around it, not to recognize its claim to universal application, or its ubiquity in all departments of life, as well as science—all this is ignorance itself. Not only in the secluded abodes of philosophic thought, not only in the sphere of scientific research, not only in the libraries of *savants* and the drawing-rooms of refined gentlemen, but in clubs of artisans and resorts of peasants, conversation is tinged with it, and discussions have it as their life-blood. The air resounds with evolution, and some homage cannot but be paid it. But why should the Church look upon it as an established theory and revolu-

tionize its lines of exposition and defence, its ancient land-marks of thought, phraseology and argument? It is not an established theory; it never can be an established theory under the present acknowledged limitations of science. Even in physics and physiology, it has gaps which science has not filled, and which science cannot fill. The book itself gives prominence to the fact that the question of origins is beyond the pale of science. The origin of matter, the origin of energy, the origin of life, the origin of instinct, and the origin of reason,—these secrets of nature lie entirely beyond the region of the phenomena with which science has to do, which science can take cognizance of, register, assort, classify, arrange into groups under the law of similarity and dissimilarity, and deduce general conclusions from. And if the problem of origins cannot be solved by science, the yawning gaps between nonentity and entity, between the absence and presence, or rather non-existence and existence of energy, between death and life, or between lifeless forms and living organisms, between instinct and thought, cannot possibly be filled by science.* And therefore under the manipulation of science, evolution is a provisional hypothesis, and is destined to remain such till the end of the chapter! And in the region of mental and moral phenomena, its calculations are completely baffled at almost every advance step it takes. To explain the phenomena of history, the march of thought, of philosophy, science, the progress of literature, poetry, art, painting, statuary, and architecture, the growth of institutions, political, social, moral and religious,—to explain these, evolution has had to assume various Proteus-like forms and perform many odd feats. Evolution upward, evolution downward, evolution in cycles, evolution in zig-zags, evolution vermicular, evolution saltative,—heaven only knows what various kinds of evolution are needed to give unity and consistency to the threads of history.

One or two illustrations will make our meaning clear. In the world of organization, permanent types are certainly discoverable, presenting a gradation, or a gradual rise from lower to higher forms, from types scarcely organized up to those showing the highest complexity and refinement of organization. It is also a matter of fact that each of these types or organisms is gradually working itself up, by nice adjustments, to its environment to the highest perfection of which it is capable, as well as adapting itself to the long chain of types of which it forms perhaps a small, infinitesimal link, and thereby subserving the object of the whole, the purpose of

* We have, and can have, no evidence of non-entity, or of the non-existence of energy.—ED. C. R.

creation at large. Each type is an example of internal and external design, the internal exhibited in the efforts put forth by it in isolation from the rest to ensure its gradual rise to perfection ; and the external exhibited in its subserviency to the whole, or in its contributions, however small, towards the perfection of nature in all its entirety ; and each individual type is, therefore, an irrefragable argument in favour of teleology, or against what is in these days called dysteleology. But the wide gaps between the types, which persist, have been arbitrarily filled up by the theory of natural selection and the survival of the fittest, the theory which supposes the appearance of innumerable intermediate types, their failure to adjust themselves to their surroundings, and their ultimate collapse in consequence of it. But the appearance of these intermediaries, their struggle for existence, and their complete failure to persist, are assumptions resorted to in the coolest manner conceivable to explain away the difficulties with which evolution is saddled. Evolution is, therefore, like an old garment with big holes which may be patched up by what may be called heterogeneous material, but which cannot be mended so as to appear in the beauty and symmetry of a homogeneous whole. This is even more thoroughly noticeable when we pass from biology to ethnology. There are, in the progress of social life and the march of literature and art, wide gaps, before which evolution stands completely baffled, or which a series of manœuvres, or tricks of jugglery, on its part can alone enable it to bridge. Take, for instance, the universally admitted fact of the retrogression of nations left to themselves. The Spaniards who imprisoned Montezuma and strangled Atahualpa, found in their broad territories unmistakable vestiges of a high type of civilization, which had grown, flourished, and decayed long before they became an easy prey to their lust of conquest and insatiable rapacity. India had sadly lapsed from the patriotism, valour and fortitude of its heroic age before Muhammadan freebooters made it the theatre of plundering expeditions and foreign domination ; and the Muhammadan power had decayed conspicuously ere our country became that seething caldron of feuds and dissensions, intrigues, conspiracies, mutinies, rebellions and dire internecine conflicts, out of which was sublimated the ascendancy of our present rulers. Byron deplored the degeneracy of the modern Greeks, and Mazzini wept over the deterioration of physique, senility of mind and corruption of morals noticeable among modern Italians. How is the gradual fall of races, nations, classes, sects and communities, left to themselves, to be explained. Here evolution must give place to devolution, an upward to a downward development.

Again human philosophy, or philosophy "not baptized in the pure fountain of eternal love," has invariably moved in a cycle, ending where it began its career of development, making its starting-point its terminus and goal. In ancient times, in our own and other lands, it began its career with an atheistic reaction against current superstitions, rose up to a species of lifeless theism, then sublimated itself into pantheism, and ultimately slid down through materialism into athesim, its starting-point. And modern philosophy has passed through a similar cycle of development. To explain this phenomenon, the march of what is called lofty and soaring thought, the theory of a cyclic evolution, or the joint action of the twin sisters, evolution and devolution, must be supposed. Again nations, communities, civilizations, literatures, arts have often been guilty, if the expression is allowed, of erratic moves. The history of the world shows them progressing in one direction for a time, then flying off at a tangent from it, and then coming back to it through a slantindicular line ;—here evolution moves in zig-zags ! But it is in the region of religion that it fumbles and flounders in the most grotesque manner conceivable. Evolution is not true to itself if it does not evolve religion out of conditions of life and thought unconnected with religion, and therefore the theory of a double self, a phantasmagorial self, appearing in dreams out of the real self, and ultimately believed in as a reality, and made the foundation of religious awe, worship and ritual, must be manufactured ; and cunning priests must be brought in to heap lie upon lie, and thereby raise cumbrous systems of theology for personal advantage. But the history of religion presents some strange phenomena, the degradation of religion by the masses, and its elevation by chosen spirits or great men.

When religion has been brought to the lowest ebb by the tendency of the ignorant to grovelling superstition, and enslavement of thought and deterioration of morals have become universal, or all but universal, up rises a great man, a Confucius or a Buddha, to declare a war of extermination against current traditions, and inaugurate a new era of moral, if not, strictly speaking, religious development. The appearance of the great man cannot be explained either by heredity or by environment, or even by heredity and environment put together. There is nothing in his ancestral tree extraordinary enough to explain his extraordinary personality, or extraordinary career ; and as to environment, he rises to ascendancy in spite of it. To account for his career, a new type of evolution must be utilized, evolution *per-saltum*, evolution by broad *Hanuman* leaps.

Evolution is in such a crude, puerile state, it is performing

so many antics, it is accommodating itself to undeniable facts by so many tricks of legerdemain, that the best thing the theologian can do is to leave it to itself. No sane man questions for a moment that the category of the age has a good deal of truth in it ; that the processes of nature, or God's movements, so to speak, in the sphere of nature, are slow and progressive ; that history indicates a unity of plan slowly unfolded through its infinitely diversified lines of personality and event, thought and institution, invention and discovery, through the mighty forces that have been at work within its sphere, either in the shape of ideals or in the form of realities. Admit an intelligent, personal Creator and Ruler engaged behind the veil of phenomena, either in the sphere of nature or in the domain of history, in carrying out, by uninterrupted vigilance and ceaseless activity, a predetermined, vast, limitless plan, and all is order, congruity, harmony. Deny this glorious truth, this Living Principle of order, and all that is left is confusion worse confounded. Evolution ought to amalgamate with theology before it can be raised from the sandy foundation of a mere provisional hypothesis to the stable basis, the invulnerable rock, of an established theory, a demonstrated fact of science. Evolution ought to sit at the feet of theology, because theology can explain what evolution cannot ; but when evolution, instead of courting the alliance and help of theology, endeavours to laugh it out of court, its temerity and fatuity ought to be pointed out with unaccommodating, inflexible severity. To regard it as a theory already proved, or likely to be proved, and then to bow to it so far as to cast aside our old weapons of defence as too rusty to be of any use, or alter all our lines of defence in obedience to its imperious dictates, is certainly not a course that will commend itself to the Church at large as either desirable or wise. It is true that it has shaped the thought and modified the phraseology of the day, and is in the air ; but the popularity of an unsound hypothesis,—and when dissociated from theology, as it is, its unsoundness is too patent to need emphasizing, is no argument in favour of the excessive homage paid it in the book under notice. The public may be easily gulled by a plausible theory ; but why should champions of theology share in its gullibility ?

But the concessions made are not merely not warranted, but perfectly useless. The authors of the book are too loyal to the Central Fact of Christianity, to *Lux Mundi*, the Light of the World, their adherence to the creed of the Church is too sincere and deep, their expositions of the vital truths of our religion have too much of the stamp of orthodoxy, to render the terms of reconciliation they offer acceptable to the growing party they wish to conciliate. The Supreme

Divinity of Jesus Christ, in conjunction with His Perfect Humanity, is brought into the boldest relief in almost all the Essays of which the book consists, is implied in every page and every utterance of the book, and is set forth as the culminating point of its argument. There is no vacillation, no circumlocution, no ambiguity, no want of lucidity, directness or emphasis, in its enunciation of the sublime, stupendous, mysterious Fact. The line of argument it pursues leaves no room whatever for doubt either as to its meaning or as to its object and scope. Jesus Christ is either God or not God! There can be no intermediate position in the scale of being. The Creator, or a creature. If not the Creator, Christ is a creature of God, though the highest, the nearest to the Throne, the most God-like, and there is as wide an interval between Him and the Being by whose almighty fiat he was called into existence, as between the heavens and the earth, between the infinite and the finite. If Christ is not God, nothing can justify the attitude of the Church towards Him, not even the lofty, unutterable, mysterious Personality ascribed to Him by Arianism or semi-Arianism. If Christ is not God, nothing can justify the stupendous claims He advanced in varieties of ways and with unfaltering lips; and the Model of virtue is at once hurled down from the pinnacle of supreme excellence on which by general consent He is placed. Admit that Christ is God, and there is consistency in His life, congruity in His teaching, unsullied excellence in His character, atonement in His Death, regenerating power in His Resurrection;—He is the world's Saviour, Refuge, and Hope. Deny the Supreme Divinity of Christ, and order gives place to chaos, beauty vanishes into thin air, holiness is superseded by unholiness;—all is disharmony, confusion, falsehood, blasphemy, unheard-of pride and impiety. Christ is God! The moment this truth is stated and recognized, as it is in the book, all the presuppositions of evolutionists are swept away, and the superstructure based thereon crumbles into ruins. For instance, evolution laughs immoderately at our anthropomorphous views of God. God is unknowable; but one thing about God, or rather some things about God are known. It is affirmed with oracular assurance that He cannot possibly have a mind and a heart resembling in any degree the mind and heart of man, and therefore to attribute human affections and passions, even of the highest order, to God and make Him an exaggerated man is the very height of unscientific temerity and folly! But religion, as the book justly affirms, is "hopelessly anthropomorphous." The basis of religion is relations between God as a Moral Being and man as a moral being, and if there were no kinship between God and man, fitted to form the substratum of moral relation-

ships, such as those subsisting between the benefactor and the dependent, the father and the son, the ruler and the subject, the emancipator and the emancipated, it would be idle to talk of religion. But anthropomorphism is what no measure of compromise or concession will induce evolution to accept ; and consequently our advances, with our anthropomorphic views of God undiluted or unchanged, towards reconciliation are sure to be treated with contempt.

Again Jesus Christ is God-Man, the adamant basis of Christian theology. Jesus Christ is God, but He invariably spoke of the Father as intimately and indissolubly associated with Him in the God-head, in so much that His will is God's will, His Law God's Law, and His work God's work. To have seen Him was to have seen the Father ! Moreover, our Lord promised, on what might be figuratively called His death-bed, to send a Comforter Divine in terms significative of His intimate and indissoluble association with a Third Person of equal authority and power in the God-head. The revelations made by Christ of His own mysterious Personality, of the Father and the Holy Ghost, unfold, with the long-standing belief of the ancient Jewish Church in the Unity of God, that doctrine of the Trinity at which infidelity has been railing and casting stones since the beginning of its hostile operations against the creed of Christendom. It is useless, in defence of our faith in Unity in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, to enlarge on such metaphysical quibbles as the impossibility of our conceiving an absolute unity ; the necessity of the Eternal, including in His Perfect Personality all differences, and, at the same time being above all differences ; the incongruity of a thinking Being living in solitary grandeur without an object of thought in Himself, or a Loving Being without an object of love. Such transcendental soarings of thought are at best poor defences ;—they may set forth the necessity of the existence of the Second Person to the satisfaction of those who do not see that the universe, existing eternally in the Divine Mind, as a reality, might be an object of both thought and love. But what of the Holy Ghost ? The moment we say that the Holy Ghost is the medium of union and communication between the Father and Son, or that the Father comes to consciousness in the Son through the Spirit, we allow ourselves to be betrayed into unauthorized and even absurd speculation. Our belief in the Trinity is based on Jesus Christ, the Revelation of God embodied in Jesus Christ, His Life, His Teaching, and His redemptive work continued in the Church ; and a firmer basis it cannot possibly have. But will concession or compromise on our part ever induce the champions of evolution to accept this rock of offence ? Again, Jesus Christ organ-

ized a society not national, tribal or local, but cosmopolitan,—a society in which men as men, irrespective of all ethnological, social or even domestic distinctions, might find a centre of unity and fraternity, in which a supernatural life was to be supernaturally communicated and supernaturally perpetuated. Will evolution respond to our advances and join us in our belief in the Holy Catholic Church and the communion of saints? And, finally, will it unite with us in upholding our doctrine of the Resurrection of the body and Life Eternal?

Here we have touched what may be called the sorest point. Evolution begins its investigations with a tremendous presupposition, a presupposition to which it clings tenaciously, and which it cannot part with, without parting with its life. Its motto is—the Laws of nature are invariable and inviolate, and consequently miracles cannot be wrought. But Christianity is inseparably associated with miracles, and it cannot part with them without parting with its life. If Jesus Christ is God-Man, He is a miracle, the greatest of miracles, the miracle of miracles. He is the impersonation of the supernatural in His birth, His personality, His work, His death, His Resurrection and Ascension. His ingress must be a miracle, His egress must be a miracle, and the main features of His career must be miracles. If he is God-Man, the entire platform of His earthly life must needs mean a platform of the supernatural. But against the supernatural evolution has declared a war of extermination, and all its most furbished weapons of attack and defence are pointedly directed against miracles, or any and every view of Christianity involving the slightest departure from the usual course of things, or at variance with its assumed postulate of the inviolability of the laws of nature. Evolution can listen with a good natured smile to all we have to say in favour of the paramount necessity and immeasurable utility of religion in general; it can bear with Job-like patience with some at least of our asseverations regarding the extraordinary life and teaching of Christ; but the moment we pass from the natural to the supernatural, from the general sequence of events to particular deviations therefrom, suggestive of divine intervention, its smile of complaisance gives place to frowns, knittings of the brow, compressings of the lips, and all the unmistakable signs and gestures of implacable hostility. Our concessions are useless. Jesus Christ, as God-Man, the evolutionists cannot bear with; for He is a standing guarantee against all their preconceived notions and foregone conclusions. Jesus Christ as God-Man is the divine sanction of anthromorphism, and anthromorphism they cannot tolerate. Jesus Christ as God-Man is an unmistakable assertion of the power of God to act with or without the forces of Nature, and a protest against the theory of its

inviolability. Jesus Christ as God-Man is a living guarantee in favour of the Trinity, the atonement, regeneration by the Holy Ghost, the immortality of the soul and body, a future state of rewards and punishments, heaven and hell. All their presuppositions fall to the ground the moment Jesus Christ is recognized as God-Man ; God, Perfect God ; Man, Perfect Man. No wonder that our advances towards reconciliation on condition of their accepting this stupendous reality are treated by them with distrust, if not contempt.

Here it may not be out of place to state that those Christians who, while they accept the symbol called the Apostles' Creed, frown upon the other two Creeds of the Church, the Nicene and that called the Athanasian, are guilty of the grossest inconsistency. The Nicene and Athanasian Creeds are simply commentaries on, or explanations and amplifications of, the Apostles' Creed, or solutions of the problems involved in it. One cannot read or repeat the Apostles' Creed without being led instinctively to raise some questions of paramount importance, not only to our speculative belief, but to our practical religious life. The first of these is—Who is Jesus Christ in whom I am to believe as I believe in God the Father, maker of the heaven and the earth? Christ is placed in the Creed in the same category with God the Father, and belief in him is set forth as of the same nature with faith in the maker of the heaven and the earth. Who is this Being? Is He God? If God, what shall we say of his Humanity? Is that a phantasm, an illusion, a deceptive appearance? If He is not God, what can belief in Him mean in conjunction with belief in God the Father? If he is God-Man, how are the two natures united in Him? Has He one nature, His Divinity merged in his Humanity, or His Humanity merged in His Divinity, or His Humanity and Divinity forming by intermixture and fusion a third substance, *a tertium quid*? Again, if he is God-Man, are we to ascribe to Him one will or two wills? What is his position in the Economy of the God-head? The thoughtful mind cannot help raising these all-important questions ; and these questions were raised in the early days of ecclesiastical history, and they gave rise to animated debates and controversies ; and these Creeds of the Church were, as it were, thrown up by a long-continued effervescence of thought and discussion. Ebionitism, gnosticism, monophysitism, and monothelitism, and the almost endless range of isms gathering around them, arose, one after another, to deny the Divinity of Christ, to represent His Humanity as phantasmal, to confound his substance, or to confuse the Persons in Him, and the Creeds were elaborated to put an end to heresy, as well as edify the Church by a clear, precise, concise, yet

comprehensive statement of that belief of the Church regarding the two-fold nature of Jesus Christ, which had come down as a precious deposit from Apostolic times. But scarcely had these debates subsided, when a controversy arose about the Holy Chost. I believe in the Holy Ghost, as I believe in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ? Who is He? Is He a personality or merely an effluence? If a Person, what is his place in the Economy of the God-head. The Creeds came to put a stop to this controversy, along with the others. We do not, of course, affirm that the controversies which distracted the early Church, arose out of the Apostles' Creed, which very likely did not exist in its present form till long after they had been set at rest within its bounds; but the Apostles' Creed is fitted to raise these controversies and would to-day raise them but for the explanatory creeds which it is the fashion to denounce!

Why not do away with creeds, one and all; read the Bible without any presupposition or foregone conclusion, and evolve from it a system of theology which may be called Biblical? This is easier said than done. Those who volunteer this advice to us call upon us in reality to attempt an impossibility. We cannot, in the first place, roll back the tide of history, annihilate the eighteen centuries of development which have rolled over the Church, convert her long record of progress, of attainment and achievement into a perfect blank, sweep away from the atmosphere of our thought her traditions and associations, and begin investigation with an eye withdrawn from her past experience and a mind perfectly free from the influence of her theological symbols and doctrinal phraseology. Those who pretend to be able to do this, enter this field of research and study with presuppositions marshalled against orthodoxy, not certainly with unbiassed minds. Again, how many minds are there in the world which can, by a careful collation and analysis of Scripture passages, and without the slightest reference to the history of the Church and her symbols of faith, evolve a correct system of theology from the Bible? Setting aside minds of ordinary calibre, the mess which mighty intellects have in our day made of the business, is a proof that all talk of studying the Bible with unbiassed minds and bringing out of its precious, but miscellaneous contents, a symmetrical system of theology, is mere sentimental twaddle! Why do not our sage counsellors extend their advice to other departments of knowledge? Why do they not advise us to throw aside the ascertained facts and results of modern astronomy, and study the stars as the primitive man did? Why do they not desire us to bury botany, as it has been matured in these days, and evolve a botany of our own by a careful study of trees and plants, or to substi-

tute for the existing chemistry a chemistry of our own creation? The generalizations of these sciences are reliable, but those of theology are not! This is precisely the presupposition with which these pretentious enquirers, who pride themselves on their thorough-going impartiality, enter the field of theological investigation, and it is not a matter of wonder that their career ends as a rule in vagaries of the most ludicrous stamp. The results of theological research embodied in the Creeds are as reliable as the universally accepted generalizations of science. The Holy Trinity as defined and expounded in the Creeds is an established fact of Biblical theology, as gravitation is an established fact of physical science; and the atonement is as distinctly set forth in the word of God as the evolution of the world out of a few primal gases is set forth in standard books on science. There are truths in religious science which are final, as there are truths in secular science which are final; and a young clergyman who, after being thoroughly convinced of their finality, subscribes to them, does not sell away his conscience, any more than the scientific man who begins his study of science after having subscribed to the principle of gravitation or the fact of chemical affinities.

It is time to present a few instances of the concession made to evolution, but before this is done, it is desirable to remark that Mr. Gore, whose paper has been most virulently attacked, simply carries the compromising spirit of the book in general from one department to another, from the region of science to that of criticism. Mr. Gore accepts the results of the higher criticism of the day as reliable in the sense in which his colleagues in the execution of the work, in general, accept the theory of evolution; and, in view of them, he is willing to admit that some portions of Bible history and some of its characters are fictitious, or unreal. And it is an undeniable fact that his concessions, whether demanded by the spirit of the age, or not, are needed to give consistency and coherence to the plan of the book of which he is the editor. Admit that Bible history begins with Abraham, and the events narrated previous to his appearance on its stage, or in the first few chapters of Genesis, are either allegories or fictions, and the theory of the gradual evolution, through slow-circling ages, of the civilized man from the primitive savage or the primitive man, as an intermediate link between the irrational brute and the rational human being, has a leg to stand on, as well as that of the gradual evolution of monotheism from fetichism, or from some chimeras of the head. If the creation of Adam in the image of God, his original abode along with his consort, also similarly created, in a garden of supernatural beauty, or natural beauty, in a state of perfection, their fall on account of Satanic temp-

tation, their expulsion from that seat of happiness, their progeny branching itself into two distinct lines, the line of the children of God and that of the children of the world, the heterogeneous intermixture of these lines, and the consequent prevalence of wickedness and violence in the world, its destruction by a flood, followed by a new start on the part of humanity,—if all these are fictions, highly instructive but historically unreal, then Abraham might have been evolved through a long line of progressive development, extending over hundreds of years, from the primitive savage, and his religion from fetichism or no-religion. But the moment these are regarded as reliable facts of history, the evolution theory applied to primitive history falls to the ground. It is but fair to add that the position occupied by Mr. Gore and the writers with whom he drives is hypothetical, rather than one of positive affirmation. They maintain that even if science succeeded in raising its evolution from a provisional hypothesis to an established theory, and even if criticism succeeded in demonstrating the fictitiousness of the early records or narratives of the Old Testament, Christianity and the inspiration of its documents, would be unaffected. But the tone of their concessions makes it certain that they regard the contingencies with sanguine, though groundless, hope; and therefore they come forward with concessions by no means warranted by the present state of science and criticism.

A few examples of these concessions will set forth their gratuitous nature. In the first essay, Mr. Holland treats the subject of *Faith* with admirable ability and breadth of thought, and proves, in a masterly manner, that if faith were given up, science would be an impossibility, it being necessary for science to take for granted at starting that nature exists, and is a cosmos or rational whole, and therefore interpretable, as well as to rely on the veracity—if the expression is allowed—of the senses, and the truth of the laws of the human mind. In a passage of great beauty Mr. Holland shows that, because we instinctively believe in a power above ourselves, both great and good, we are at home in the world, believing in a perfect correspondence between its realities and those of the inner man, living literally by faith both in the world of business and the world of knowledge, and trying experiment after experiment under the settled conviction, that the expectations raised in us by the powers God has given us, and their counterparts in nature shall not be ultimately frustrated. It is desirable, nay necessary, to show, at a time when proud science is but too apt to laugh at faith, that if the key-stone of our knowledge, our instinctive trust in God as our Father, or, in the words of the book, our innate sense of sonship, were

presumptuously cast aside, science would lose its stable basis, or degenerate into nescience. But Mr. Holland, in the following words, betrays himself into an assertion which, though in harmony with the demands of evolution, cannot possibly be substantiated:—"The history of faith is the history of this gradual disclosure, the growing capacity to recognize and receive, until the rudimentary omen of God's Fatherhood in the rudest savage who draws, by clumsy fetich, or weird incantation, upon a power outside himself, closes its long story in the absolute recognition, the perfect and entire receptivity, of that Son of man, who can do nothing of Himself 'but what he seeth the Father do,' . . ." The gradual development of the embryonic belief of the fetich-worshipper into the perfect faith and serene trust set forth in the life of Christ, is a beautiful myth, unsupported by historical evidence. What has been said of stone, iron and brazen periods may justly be said of the three epochs specified by Comte, the theological, metaphysical and the scientific;—*viz.*, they synchronize, do not follow each other in regular succession, on the page of history. The three processes—the theological, the metaphysical and the scientific—have been found together, sometimes in harmony and sometimes in antagonism, throughout the whole period of known history,—and we leave it to theorists and doctrinaires to dream of what took place in prehistoric times. Again, what is true of Comte's main divisions is true of his subordinate divisions; and since Abraham, at least, fetichism, polytheism more or less refined, and monotheism, have lived together, the last invariably at variance with the first two.

Mr. Moore's paper on the *Christian Doctrine of God* is scholarly; but its basal assertion that the Christian doctrine of God has been developed by antagonism, first between religion and morality, and then between religion and philosophy or reason, is fanciful and open to grave objections. Such antagonism is certainly noticeable in the evolution of the idea of God outside the Church, in the history, for instance, of Greek thought; and immoral views of God supplanted by such as ascribe perfect, spotless righteousness to Him, and the transcendence of God giving place to, rather than supplemented by, His immanence, plurality superseded by unity, impurity by purity, reason outside of nature by reason in nature; such was doubtless the progress of thought among the ancient Greeks and Romans, and among other peoples equally great in mental development, if not in political life. But the history of the Church, while it shows a long-continued controversy about the Divinity of Christ, and the Personality and Divinity of the Holy Ghost, does not chronicle any dispute or

discussion between opposing parties about God and His universally admitted attribute of holy love, or love balanced by wisdom and righteousness. The idea of a *Deus-ex-machina*, now laughed at by science, is deistic, not Christian; and both the transcendence and immanence of God have been always, everywhere and by all, held in reality, though in terms less philosophical. No term is more ambiguous than the immanence of God, and as it has invariably proved a stepping-stone to pantheism, it has been avoided; but the Omnipresence of God, as it has been maintained since the beginning of days, includes all that is unobjectioable in the theory of immanence, and excludes its all but irresistible pantheistic tendencies. Nor does the Christian idea of Omnipresence preclude operation of secondary causes, the very existence of which Mr. Moore seems disposed to deny, as God, according to the Scriptures, worketh, and worketh ceaselessly, with or without laws, as a rule through the instrumentality of laws, but at times immediately and directly. Every object in nature may, in one sense, be called a theophany, as it embodies an idea of God, and is called into existence, mediately or immediately, by God, and sustained by His power. But the theophanies brought into prominence in the Bible, the line of theophanies terminating or culminating in Jesus Christ, have a significance of their own, and are essentially different from the objects of nature, inasmuch as they embody God-head in His Essence and Attributes; while these only set forth the power, wisdom, and goodness of God.

The fundamental, essential difference between the theophanies of the Bible and the God-disclosing objects of nature, and God-like characters in history, is not clearly set forth in the book; and this is the great defect of Mr Illingworth's masterly paper entitled *The Incarnation and Development*. That the Second Person of the Adorable Trinity, the Divine Reason, as He is called in Platonic phraseology, had in Him an eternal tendency to manifestation, could not but be embodied in a rationalized universe, and would have, through successive stages of development, culminated in an Incarnation even if man had not sinned,—these are speculations fit only to be relegated to that region of quiddities and essences from which Socrates brought down transcendental thought to the platform of practical morals and every-day life. Setting them aside, we have the practical problem to solve:—Does the history of the world show a series of progressive developments ending in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, the Author and Finisher of human salvation? In one sense it does,—only in one sense,—that is, through the line, exclusively, of the theophanies, or special miraculous appearances of God, set forth in the Word of God.

Not to speak of antediluvian times, God appeared to Abraham in a human shape, to Moses in an effulgence unutterably bright, to Gideon in an angelic form, and to the Prophets in glorious visions; but in Him who is God, perfect God, and Man, perfect Man, He appears in the only permanent form in which human beings, short-sighted as well as sinful, with understandings darkened and hearts depraved by sin, can know, love and serve Him. If this is all that is meant by development in what may be called the region of incarnation, no demurrer need be put in; but if by development is understood, the incipient manifestation of God in His Essence and Glory in nature, and one brighter in humanity, and a chain of incarnations in human events and human characters, the succeeding links, more glorious than the preceding ones, terminating in what should be called the Incarnation *par excellence*, the Christian world cannot but lift up a protest. The confusion of essential with accidental differences is stamped on almost all the essays in *Lux Mundi*, and is the greatest of its defects. The fact is not emphasized, as it should be, that the Bible is *essentially* different from the religious books of the world, the inspiration of Scripture penmen from that of the world's sages, philosophers and poets, the religion embodied in it from the religions of the world, Jesus Christ in His consubstantiality with the Father from the world's roll of teachers and reformers. Jesus Christ is a Supernatural Personality, above the sphere of natural development, and consequently not to be accounted for by evolution with its heredity and environment, its law of continuity, and natural selection.

The question may be put:—How are we to dispose of the ascertained or established results of the science of religion if Supernatural revelation is placed in sharp antithesis to natural inspiration or evolution of religious thought? Besides the generalizations at which it has arrived, *viz.* the universality of religion, its debasement under the manipulation of the masses, and exaltation under the inspiration of great men, and its gradual move from one to another of the varied phases of the moral consciousness of man, and completion in Christianity,—truths which, in one sense, no Christian would demur to—this science has discovered what may be called a family-likeness in the religions of the world, a similarity in their preponderant ideas, their symbols of dogma and forms of devotion. How is this to be explained except on the supposition of independent lines of evolution? But the family-likeness noticeable in the religions of the world is susceptible of an explanation less fanciful and more demonstrable than autochthonous evolution. If the early chapters of Genesis are not thrown aside as a collection of legends, highly instructive,

indeed, but of no historical value, a primitive revelation to man for his guidance cannot but be accepted as a fact proven ; and in that revelation, which God could not but have vouchsafed, ample provision would be made for the religious needs of man created by sin ; and consequently in it the prominent ideas characteristic of Judaism and its impressive ritual would be, to some extent, anticipated. The intense holiness of God ; man's alienation from Him on account of sin ; the necessity of mediation and atonement ; the future appearance of a Divine Mediator and a sinless Victim ; these and other characteristic ideas of the religion of fallen man would, along with significant forms of devotion and corresponding rites and ceremonies, form its substratum and determine its shape. And these would, in the course of ages, assume varied corrupt forms under the manipulation of local traditions and idiosyncrasies ; but even in their degeneracy they would present a substantial resemblance under circumstantial variety. Such would have been the course of a revelation granted by God to our first parents and their immediate descendants ; and if the first chapters of Genesis are not arbitrarily cast overboard, such was its course. This explanation sets forth the congruity of the accommodation-theory, against which orthodoxy has been prone to maintain an attitude of hostility. It is affirmed that the sacrificial system of the Jews and their ritual were simply accommodations to and improvements on the bloody offerings and bloodless ceremonies of the nations and tribes by whom they were surrounded. What wonder ! These offerings and these ceremonies were simply corruptions of what had formerly been embodied in a forgotten divine revelation ; and they were purified and naturalized among the chosen people by a fresher and fuller revelation. In this sense the accommodation-theory is simply an acknowledgement of the supersession of an oral revelation, forgotten and corrupted, by a revelation more advanced and more permanent.

Let us pass over the other papers of the book with a brief remark or two. Mr. Illingworth's Essay on "*The Problem of Pain*," in which the part played by human suffering in the progressive development of the individual and the race in its punitive, remedial and prophylactic character, together with its tendency to promote sympathy and approach to and union with God, is ably set forth, is a triumphant reply to the Pessimism which has come down to us from a remote antiquity, and which has been resuscitated and re-promulgated by weeping philosophers of the genus of Schopenhauer and Hartmann. Dr. Talbot's Paper, *The Preparation in History for Christ*, is scholarly, as all the papers in the work are, and unexceptionable, though the place it gives to philosophy in the sphere

of preparatory processes is higher than it deserves. Mr. Moberly's *Incarnation as the Basis of Dogma* is a masterly reply to the variety of objections raised by what may be called the morbid anti-dogma spirit of the age. The two Papers on *The Church* by Mr. Lock, and *The Sacraments* by Rev. Dr. Paget, are written in a spirit so conciliatory, and at the same time so reasonable and just, that even Dissenters might, without compromise of principle, subscribe to the main conclusions presented. There is a ring of both truth and sincerity in the following declaration about the Church :—" Amid the uncertainties of individualism, the fantastic services of those who tend to reduce worship to a mere matter of emotion, amid the sorrows and perplexities of modern life, the world needs the witness of a rational and corporate worship, which recognizes the deepest sufferings of human nature enshrined in its very heart, yet recognizes also the way in which suffering, when accepted freely, is blessed of God ; which worships at once a crucified and a risen Lord. Over against the divisions of race and continent, the Church raises still its witness to the possibility of an universal brotherhood : over against despair and dispersion, it speaks of faith and the unity of knowledge ; over against pessimism, it lifts up a perpetual Eucharist." Mr. Ottley's Essay on *Christian Ethics* is exhaustive, and gives prominence to its main characteristic, namely, that it is theocentric, that it presents a sinless example of character, and that it makes practical morality possible by placing recreative power within reach of fallen man. And Mr. Lyttelton's *The Atonement* is a very able exposition of the doctrine based on Jewish rites and Scripture phraseology, as well as on the deepest instincts of human nature ; and it therefore steers clear of the sentimentalism which refuses to recognize a sacrificial, propitiatory and piacular element in it.

Mr. Champion's Essay, *Christianity and Politics*, is opportune and practically important, both in its clear enunciation of the principle that our religion is destined to enter into and vitalize one and all the phases of life, and its bold statement of the mistakes which have tended to make the Anglican Church unpopular and curtail its utility and beneficence. A sharp line of distinction is drawn between religion and politics, and a tendency is almost universally shown to lodge them in two different air-tight compartments, to shelve religion in the sphere of politics and politics in the sphere of religion. And that is the reason why politics has become a suspicious science, or is identified with diplomatic reticence, duplicity, dissimulation, state-craft and intrigue ; with the arts and tricks of Machiavellianism. Politics needs the plastic influence of Christianity more perhaps than any other science ; and

the Church of England is, in this able paper, reminded of the mistakes she has fallen into in her attitude towards it, and earnestly called upon to rectify or atone for them. Her record of political achievements has been tarnished by her staunch conservatism, her failure to adapt herself to the progressive spirit of the age. Time was when she was the palladium of British liberty, when her Archbishops and Bishops courageously resisted the encroachments of the Pope, and facilitated the adoption of measures fitted to make his interference in the internal administration of their country impossible. But the glorious period of her political activity in behalf of the English people was followed by a period of degeneracy as regards her attitude towards politics, an epoch when she recognized the divine right of kings, sided with the royal party against the nation, and opposed popular aspirations and popular reforms. From this degeneracy of her political life she has scarcely been emancipated, and it is to be feared that the charge of systematic opposition to progress in the sphere of politics cast in her teeth, or in the teeth of her clergy, by Buckle in his *History of English Civilization*, is too true to be denied. Her present unpopularity is not to be traced to her organic life, nor to her doctrinal standards and symbols of worship. Her superb organization has elicited admiration and praise even in quarters where some of its vital principles are not recognized; and her creeds no sensible Dissenter will hesitate to repeat with due solemnity. Her prayers and her services have, in sublimity of diction and pathos, in solemnity and impressiveness, never been surpassed, scarcely rivalled. But her obstructiveness in the sphere of political development has been the main cause of the growing suspicion and distrust with which she is regarded, even within her own jurisdiction. Let her once more ally herself to the cause of progress, and firmly hold up her faith as a panacea for all the evils of life, as the only right solution of all the problems of political and social life, the economic questions that are segregating class from class, and the international controversies that are fomenting national disagreements and antipathies. Let her be once more true to herself in politics, as she always has been in doctrine and ritual, and, instead of the cry, down with the Church! she will hear the grateful prayer of a people regenerated in all the departments of life:—Long live the recognized Church of England and her Colonies and Dependencies!

The writers of the Essays which we have very imperfectly reviewed are giants in piety and scholarship, and they are true men in every respect. What a contrast between their lucubrations and the *Essays and Reviews*, which emanating from their own centre of influence, sent a thrill of astonishment and horror

through the Christian world upwards of thirty years ago. The object of those was to sap and undermine the foundations of the Christian Faith, while the object of these is to uphold and establish it amid the concussion of new forces that at first sight seem antagonistic to it. And though we have been compelled by a sense of duty to represent the concessions made by them to the genius of the age as both unwarrantable and useless, we cannot but look upon the joint production of these pious scholars as a marvel of erudition, moderateness of tone, closeness of reasoning, of purity of diction, grasp of thought and fervour of piety. Indeed, we have rarely read a book so entertaining as well as instructive.

RAM CHANDRA BOSE,

ART. XI.—A REPLY TO MY CRITICS ; OR WHAT
IS HINDU RELIGION ?

IN the course of three articles which appeared in this *Review* during the past year, and were subsequently collected and published as a pamphlet under the title of an "Introduction to the Study of Hinduism," it was maintained :—

1st—That Hinduism is not a religious organization.

2nd—That what the Hindus, or the major portion in a Hindu community, do is Hinduism.

3rd—That Hindus are those people of India who belong to a hierarchy of caste.

4th—That this caste system modifies itself according to the spirit of the times and surrounding circumstances.

5th—That there is nothing in this caste system which renders it a bar to the growth of Indian nationalism.

While these propositions have been favourably received in many quarters, they have in others evoked adverse criticism, which it is the object of the present article to answer.

I have been told that I have disparaged Hinduism by saying "that it is not and has never been a religious organization, that it is a pure social system." My object was neither to disparage, nor to praise ; but to state a truth. Yet it may not be amiss to ask, how the statement of that truth disparages the Hindu system. If it does any thing, it exalts Hinduism according to my humble thinking. Hindus oftentimes commit the error, in the heat of controversy, without seeing what they gain thereby, of likening their system to other systems of the world. Some of them have also, without examining our own system, or taking a lesson from existing facts, imbibed an occidental mode of thought, and they cannot get over certain ideas, not very broad, regarding religion, which they have learnt from the conceptions of the West. To them religion is objective and not subjective ; it is not the real, living faith of individual man, but his nominal adherence to a set of beliefs alleged to be the common faith of a community. To some of them it, perhaps, implies a book for a guide, and a book which claims to reveal the words of God ; and, when twitted by an opponent with the question what they have to appeal to, they say it is the *Vedas*, forgetting that, in thus placing the claims of these in opposition to the Koran, or the Bible, they make their own system as narrow as, if not narrower than, one of

these, and dependent on proofs,—moral, intellectual and historical—for the verification of such claims ; and, while the Vedas, admittedly do not, like either the Koran, or the Bible, offer salvation to mankind at large on condition of the acceptance of their truths, those who set up their claims, can at best only claim that they are the guide of a portion of mankind, the rest being excluded from their benefit according to some canons of interpretation. And, even with this portion of mankind, the Vedas are not the only guide, as the Koran, or the Bible, would be for its followers, but are supplemented by other authoritative works, laying down the rules of a Hindu's life, and claiming his faith as much as the Vedas themselves. Again, while these later works express the utmost reverence for the Vedas, as the inspired source on which they draw, they shelve the Vedas and make room for themselves, by saying that the Vedas, in their entirety, were good for the *satya yoke*, while they are the guide for the present age of feebleness. You come, by this excuse for their existence, from one another work to Perhaps all this marks the history of the evolution, or devolution, of Hinduism. Perhaps it marks the period when outside ideas were incorporated, or a glaring departure was made. Anyhow, if it is not the reflection of popular beliefs, popular beliefs have come to be in accord with it, and the people—those who know the Vedas (a very small number) and those who do not know them (a very large number),—while manifesting the utmost reverence for the Vedas, shelve their claim by saying that they are too good for weak people like themselves. Thus the existing facts in Hindu society are completely destructive of the position that the Vedas are the guide of the Hindus at the present day, as the Bible, or Koran, is of its followers.

The Vedic Gods, the Vedic rituals with but few exceptions, are not the Gods or the rituals of any portion of the Hindus. Unless one era is to ignore the evolution or devolution of centuries and completely forget the present, it is difficult to see how it can be said that the Hinduism of the day is the religion of the Vedic past. "Revive the Vedas, throw out the excrustation of centuries, the prejudices super-added to the original structure, you have what you want,—a national religion for the Hindus and a religious organization with social rites perfect in their nature as they were at the date of the Vedas." This, however, is a very large order, and, after all, it may not lead us to a very hopeful prospect ; for, to say nothing of the fact that certain canons of interpretation of Vedas and Vedic rituals, favoured by the claimants of Vedic revival, might not be easily acceptable, it by no means meets the present need of India, as it makes exclusiveness, to our humble thinking, somewhat more exclusive. And what pros-

pect is there of the revival of the Vedas. Only the other day there was some talk regarding the establishment of a Vedic College in Calcutta. After some general discussion—which, as is the case with all such discussion, especially in Bengal, happened to be pointless,—a gentleman present raised the questions, who were to be the professors; who were to be the students; what interpretation of the Vedas was the College to adopt; what portions of the Vedas were to be read. These were eminently practical questions, and no steps could be made in advance without first solving them. There was a miniature representation of all parties in the little assembly that had met—those who believe in a progressive state of Hindu Society, and its capacity for adapting itself to surrounding circumstances; the reactionists who would resist, if they could, this adaptibility, and those who would revive the Vedas, as a counterpoise to current Hinduism, but with an object quite different from that of the reactionists.

The question, therefore, was a sort of test—a feeler whether there could be concerted action between these classes. All sides thought that they could meet here, as on a common ground, and agree to the establishment of a College. Perhaps it was not the intention of any one section to take in the other, as their leaving the most important questions unsolved, and with them, perhaps, future seeds of quarrels and divisions, might seem to indicate. But when the questions were thus forced on them, it seemed as if the reactionists would have the College, without the solution; and one of them proposed, as the only business for that meeting, the formation of a Sub-Committee to devise the ways and means. But, seeing what turn things were taking, the gentleman who had originally proposed the questions, moved that they be referred to the Sub-Committee and be considered before the question of ways and means. He succeeded in carrying his motion; and, in the discussion which followed, it was quickly discerned that the unanimity, which had previously existed, as to the desirability of establishing a Vedic College, was more apparent than real. When, however, the questions were about to be carried, in the way in which sensible people who would contribute to a project of this kind at the present day would have carried them, something like a threat was thrown out, that no Brahmin, to whom alone the knowledge of the *Vedas* was confined [with regard to *Sham Veda*, a Pundit telling the audience that the last man who knew it imparted the knowledge to him (the speaker) alone, and he had since imparted the knowledge to his brother and another of his pupils] would impart it to a Sudra, the project of the establishment of a Vedic College remained in abeyance pending

a report of the projector, whose claim to the benefit of Vedic knowledge is yet doubtful, whether a Pundit could be found who would impart the knowledge of the Vedas to students who are Sudras. So much for the Vedic revival, and Hinduism of the day, being a religious organization based, or to be based, on the Vedas.

Those who would not ignore existing facts, contend that, while the Vedas are the Old Testaments, the Puranas and Smrities are the New Testaments of the Hindus. If this affirmation were to be made with reference to a very small portion of the Hindus—say Brahmins and one or two other castes amongst the Hindus—the proposition, even thus limited, would not be correct ; for the Puranas and Smrities, and add to them the Tantras, are not among them identical compositions, with different interpretations given to them by different sects, as in Christianity or Muhamadanism, but distinct compositions, one claiming to be as authoritative as the other, and sometimes one prevailing in some part of the country where the other has no authority, or sometimes a number of them dividing their authority in that smallest unit of space—the village, or in that smallest of organizations—the family.

In an Indian village community all are Hindus, from Brahmins to Chamars, Domes and Mehtars, who are not Musalmans.

The mistake begins in at once jumping to the conclusion that it is religion, that is to say—religious faith—which divides these Hindus from the Musalmans. Yet I know personally of a case, where, amongst people who pass as Hindu, there is one who believes in the revelation of the Koran, in the Kalma, and reads *Namajes* five times a day according to the orthodox Koran rituals. Amongst the Hindus not more than 15 per cent. of the population are in touch with the Brahmins, the rest are below that touch. If the Vedas were to be revived, a number, but not the whole, of this 15 per cent., will have a claim, according to accepted canons of exclusion and inclusion, to a knowledge of the Vedas, Vedic worship and Vedic rites ; at present, however, excepting the followers of Dyanand Saraswati (not even a perceptible percentage), who pass under the name Aryans, and who accept the Vedas as their only guide, under a canon of interpretation adopted by Pundit Dyanand, the rest of the 15 per cent. have not much to do *directly* with Vedic worship, or Vedic rituals ; and, so far as what my friends call the New Testaments, the *Puranas*, the *Smrities*, and *Tantras*, each and all, as we said, have their authority over divisions and sub-divisions in detail, so that, while the utmost diversity of religious faith prevails in this upper 15 per cent., it is hard to say that the religious faith of a particular individual of the community resembles, in all respects, that of his neighbour.

Of the remaining 85 per cent., though a considerable portion in Bengal are the followers of Vaisnav Gosains, he would be a bold man who should say that theirs is the religion of the Vedas, of any particular Puran, or of any known kind of Tantra. It is always changing, and it changes in a way unknown amongst the upper 15 per cent. In the district of Dacca, one Kalikumar Tagore became the centre of a religion, the like of which sway the masses every now and then. Kalikumar knew only the ordinary Bengali, which fitted him to be the gomastha of a rich widow, of the Kaestha caste, of his village. Beyond his Gyatri, he did not know anything of the Vedas, and, as for the Puranas, he knew as much as a Bengali Brahmin, or a *Bhadralogue* would know, from recitations thereof by others, and not by reading them in the original for himself. Nor was there any peculiar sanctity in his life, as the mode of business, un-Brahminic, which he followed, shows. Yet it came to be known that he had cured some cases of incurable diseases, originally by what process was not known. His fame spread, and, within a short time, his home became something like a splendid fair, where a vast mass of people congregated every day from all parts of the district, some to get themselves treated for diseases, and others to have a look at a real live God—people called him *Hari*, and the earth on which he sat used to be scraped out as medicine. This faith, of course, became an efficacious faith treatment in many cases, for the prescribed mode of treatment, which is said to have been very successful, was nothing else than bathing three times a day, believing in the divinity of Kalikumar Tagore, taking in a little ball of earth from Kalikumar's house, and giving a *Hari loot*. A warrant of arrest was issued by the Sub-Divisional Officer, in connection with something which Kalikumar did with regard to his business as a gomastha, and, before it could be executed, he died, and the religion of which he became the temporary centre, died with him. At one time his followers could be counted by lakhs. This is merely an illustrative case. Such things happen almost every day in India, and nothing is more common than to find a pious, or a good, man the centre of a small number of men who believe him to be inspired, or God-sent (সিদ্ধ পুরুষ.* Such within the present generation, were, for the masses, as well as the upper classes, the *Mahapurushes* of Benares, Barodi and Dakhineshwar; and many even now are to be found all over India. It is remarkable in these cases that, while these Mahapurushes are the centre of a faith in their persons, their religious beliefs are not the religious beliefs of those who follow them, nor do they ever try to convert their followers to such beliefs. Some-

* The সিদ্ধপুরুষ of the Mahanirvan Tantra.

times, however, there are religious propagandas, some very aggressive in their character. Not to speak of the *Arya Dharma* of Dyananda Shareswati, of the Brahma Dharma of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, the Anath Savda, or Sultanul Ajkar, of Rai Saligram, whose influence is mainly confined to the upper 15 per cent. described above, and does not prevail much among the masses, we have the Satnam Dharma of Central India, which divides the Chamars, as a class some millions of men, into almost two equal halves. The Satnamies (followers of true name, or true God) should not have anything to do with idolatry ; they consider all men equal, and they abstain from fish, flesh and intoxicating liquors, and smoking tobacco. Such, again, was the faith amongst the simple Sonthals, of which Durbi Gosain was the centre. Durbi Gosain (from Durb-grass, the juice squeezed out of a paste of which, with one chilli, forms his only meal) is a cripple Rajput by birth ; and people think, though he has never been known to give out his place of nativity, that he was an inhabitant of Shahabad before he left his district for Sonthalistan and turned a fakir. From his ascetic habits, and the wonderful feat which he performs at times, of sitting at Dhuni,—that is, within a space not more than eight feet in circumference, surrounded on all sides by fire in large heaps of cow-dung, for eight to twelve hours,—he came to be considered a real object of worship by the Sonthals to whom his word was religion and law. He insisted on his followers abstaining from meat prohibited by the present Hindu form, as also from intoxicating liquors. He decided disputes amongst the Sonthals ; but though, in all respects, his mission appears to have been very—useful and commendable, the authorities, for some reason or other unknown, considered him a dangerous character, and ordered his deportation from Sonthal land. Yet his name and influence still survive there. Large classes of men are swayed by forms and faiths springing up from time to time,—forms and faiths, the original source of which is sometimes good and sometimes far from good. Thus even a woman with some pretension to sorcery, or some man who pretends to a knowledge of the art of incantation or exorcising the evil one, or some one even pretending to be possessed by the evil one, becomes sometimes the centre of a faith amongst the lower orders of Hindus (especially those of the Hill-tribes, which had been converted to Hinduism). Nevertheless all these are Hindus and are admitted on all hands as such, not because there is anything common which can be traced in their religious beliefs, but because they conform to certain social rules common to all people known as Hindus. Those who say that the Vedas are the Old Testament, and the Puranas, Smrities, &c., the New Testament

of the Hindus, and that Hinduism is a religious organization based on both, instead of begging the question as they now do, must show the common religious beliefs which prevail in their so-called religious organization. I hope they will see that the false analogy of Old and New Testament, which they, without the establishment of this common basis, set up as an answer, as they conceive, to my position, is not so. But if my critics, who assail my position, that Hinduism is not a religious organization, have not yet defined on what common basis that organization stands at the present date, the task has been attempted for them by a foreign savant, and I ask them whether they are prepared to accept that definition and to hold that it comprises the whole extent of the Hinduism of the present day in India.

Professor Monier Williams, in his excellent little work on Hinduism, says: "It is remarkable that with all these diversities (of race, language, and social usages) the Hindu populations throughout India have a religious faith It is a creed based on an original, simple, pantheistic doctrine, but branching out into an endless variety of polytheistic superstitions. Like the sacred fig-tree of India, which, from a single stem, sends out innumerable branches, destined to descend to the ground and become trees themselves, till the parent stock is lost in a dense forest of its own offshoots, so has this pantheistic creed rooted itself firmly in the Hindu mind, and spread its ramifications so luxuriantly, that the simplicity of its root dogma is lost in an exuberant outgrowth of monstrous mythology." The great authority of the Professor makes one hesitate to question the correctness of any proposition which he lays down; nevertheless it strikes us, as it will strike any body, that in thus tracing out the root as it were of the mythological system of India in the philosophical doctrine of pantheism, he leaves out of account the Vedic mythology, when the philosophical doctrine of pantheism was yet unknown, and he also leaves out of account the popular polytheism of the present day, or any antecedent period, and such of the religious beliefs in India, refined or rude, as are not founded on the Vedas or the Puranas. A particular stone is deified, not because the atomic stone forms a part of that universe which, taken or conceived as a whole, is God,—that may be the explanation of some of the Hindu philosophers when they conform to popular worship,—but because the votaries believe there is particular sanctity attaching to that stone, which sanctity does not attach to any other stone. The clay idol is worshipped, not because the idol clay forms a part of that universe which is God, but because, to the uneducated, the clay idol, after *Pran Pretista* (প্রান প্রতিষ্ঠা), becomes the object of his

worship, and to a class of educated men in India, one of the ways to attain to the Incomprehensible Deity is through a graduated process, the first being the worship of the idol of clay. Again, amongst the Vedics and Puranics, Adwaityabad is not the only philosophical doctrine which prevails. "Ekam ea Advitiam," "there is but one Being, no second," leads to pantheism as well as to monotheism—the words being interpreted differently by the pantheist and the monotheist; not to say that philosophy, here as well as elsewhere, does not form the basis of religious faiths, except amongst the philosophers and their followers, and even among them the followers of Sankaracharya do not believe that he was God because every man, as forming an atom of the universe, is God (নরঃ ব্রহ্মঃ) in a pantheistic sense, but a wise man whose wisdom no other man could match. A reference to the Vedas and to the Upanishads will show that the Supreme Soul (পরমাত্মা) is there considered as separate and distinct from soul (জীবাত্মা).

We find in the white Yazar Veda Sanhita :—

ন তুং বিদাম যইমা অজানান্যং যুজ্যাকমন্তুরং বভুবা।

Do you not know Him who created all things? Though He is separate and distinct from all things, He lives in your heart.

In Katoo Upanishad we find :—

অন্যত্রাস্মৎ কৃতাকৃত্যৎ ।

He is separate and distinct from the world of causes and effects.

Again in Talav Karupanishad :—

অন্যদেব তদ্বিত্তাদিথো অবিত্তাদিধি

He is separate and distinct both from matter and spirit.

In Manu Sanhita :—

উপাস্যং পরমং ব্রহ্ম আত্মা যত্র প্রতিষ্ঠিতঃ

He in whom the soul has its rest, is the Param Brahma, the object of your worship.

The doctrine of pantheism is to be first found in Vedanta Darshan,—a commentary of the Vedanta Sutra. Ramanuj Swami and Madhab Acharjea interpret Vedanta Sutra to mean *dualism* (দ্বৈতবাদ). It is not, however, the philosophical interpretation of texts that we are concerned with; the point to ascertain is whether the religious faiths of India have pantheism for their root. We have shown that it is not historically true, as pantheism came to be recognized as a philosophical doctrine only at a comparatively recent date, and we have also shown that, side by side with the philosophical doctrine of pantheism, we have the doctrine of dualism, and, examining the present

religious beliefs of India, we find that whatever importance might be assigned by philosophers here or there to the doctrine of pantheism, the masses believe in a God, or Gods, as entirely separate and distinct from themselves and all other created things.

It is not at all correct to say, therefore, that pantheism, to use the language of the learned Professor, is "the uncompromising creed of true Brahmanism, and this, according to the orthodox Hindu philosophy, is the only true Veda. This, at least, according to the belief of the generality of educated Hindus, is the only true knowledge to which the Veda leads."

The Professor then says : " Popular Hinduism, on the other hand, though supposed to accept this creed as the way of true knowledge 'Jnana Marga,' which it admits to be the highest way of salvation, adds to it two other inferior ways :—

1st.—Belief in the efficacy of sacrifices, rites, penance, and austerities, which is the 'Karma Marga' (way of works).

2nd.—Faith in personal deities, which is 'Bhakti Marga' (way of faith and devotion).

"Moreover, to account for its polytheism, idol worship and system of caste distinctions, popular Hinduism supposes that the one Supreme Being amuses himself variously as light does in the rainbow, and that all visible and material objects, good and bad, including gods, demons, demi-gods, good and evil spirits, human beings and animals, are emanations from Him and are ultimately to be reabsorbed into His essence."

So far as the last remarks offer an explanation of polytheism-idol worship in India, it is not the one accepted here as such. The passage represents the pantheistic, as also the theistic idea of the cosmogony, according to its different interpretations, the theists nowhere considering matter as co-existent and coeval with the Deity. We shall hereafter see what explanation the Hindu has to offer of the Indian polytheistic system. Leaving this for the present, if the Professor were to say that "Jnana Marga" merely means the "way through knowledge," without particularising that knowledge as that of pantheism, for which we have shown there is no warrant whatever ; "Karam Marga" as the "way through performance of duties, whatever they are, without the desire of getting a reward," and "Bhakti Marga" as the "way through that discipline of mind, that development of faith, love, veneration and faculty of worship attainable by belief in a personal deity or humanity," not as alternative modes, but as simultaneous conditions, we should have no quarrel with him ; but the analysis would be the analysis of the religious idea in man, not particularly of the Hindu. This analysis, with the corrections

we note above—Knowledge, performance of duty (निर्याय धर्म), and faith and love and worship—shows only the universality of religious growth in India, its essentially eclectic character.

It is as much as saying that Hinduism is the religious idea in man in different stages of development, in accordance with the intellectual and moral conditions of different Hindus, and not a set of beliefs contained in a book. The "Jnana Marga" is not limited. It is only bounded by the conditions by which the subject mind is conditioned. But if this "Jnana Marga" is not confined to a book, or a certain set of dogmas contained in a book, it has no quarrel with any of them, and if a Hindu choose to accept, in the middle of the path, Christian or Mahomedan creeds or beliefs, he might rest there, without even ceasing to be a Hindu. The same can also be said of the "Bhakti Marga." It might accept Christ, as it does Krishna.

The Professor himself says: "Starting from the Vedas, Hinduism has ended in embracing something from all religions, and in presenting phases suited to all minds. It is all tolerant, all compliant, all comprehensive, all absorbing."—p. 12.

I did not read the Professor's book till my pamphlet was written and published. There is a great and striking similarity in thought, and even in expressions, which,—if to others who do not know the fact, it might seem to show that I have borrowed largely from the Professor's book without any acknowledgment—shows to me, that we can only arrive at the same truth by independent enquiry of our own, and that the expression of that truth would be in almost the same words; but though the premises are the same, and expressed almost in the same words, the conclusion differs. My conclusion from certain facts is, that though the Hindu is intensely religious, Hinduism (possibly because of that intense religiousness), is not a religious organization. The Professor finds nothing common in India, with its diverse races, diverse languages, diverse social customs and manners, and diversity of caste, but a common religion—a common faith;—I showed that Hinduism is not simply a social organization, but that what the Hindus, or the majority of Hindus in a Hindu community *do*, is Hinduism; that to be a Hindu, or to continue a Hindu, one must belong to a hierarchy of caste. That the caste hierarchy, which involves an admission, even at the present day, of the supremacy of the Brahmins, does not involve, or imply, a religious faith in such supremacy, any more than the admission of an aristocracy, either of birth or of wealth, would do in cases where such distinctions prevail.

In treating of modern castes (p. 157) the Professor says : " It might almost, indeed, be inferred from the influence exerted by caste rules on the daily life of the Hindus, that the whole of their religion was centered in caste observances, and that Hinduism and caste were convertible terms, and, in point of fact, strictness in the maintenance of caste is the only test of Hinduism exacted by the Brahmins of the present day. In matters of mere faith, Hinduism is (as we have seen) all tolerant and receptive : no person, who is not born a Brahmin, can become one, but any person can be admitted in the lower ranks of Hinduism, who will acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmins and obey the rules of caste. So long as a man holds to his caste, he is at liberty to hold any opinions he likes, even to accepting the doctrines of Christianity.

" 'Perfection is alone attained by him who swerves not from the business of his caste.' "—(*Bhagwatgita.*)

I ask whether from the above premise—in which, however, we detect one or two statements not in accord with the present rules of caste, for instance, the reference to the great strictness with which rules of caste are said to be enforced by the *Brahmins* (the fact being that it is not the Brahmins, but caste people, who enforce the rules), but which does not affect the correctness of the premise in the main—it does not follow, as I have said, that Hinduism is not a religious organization, but a social organization, pure and simple, and whether this does not fully corroborate what I stated at page 13 of my pamphlet.

"But when we say that all people, domiciled in India, who are not Christians, Musalmans, or Parsis, are Hindus, do we mean that there is any thing in their religious beliefs which would exclude these people from those from whom they are thus distinguished ? We say no. Suppose a Hindu were to believe in the revelation of the Bible, the doctrine of the Trinity, that of original sin and eternal damnation, the atonement and salvation through faith in a Saviour, he would be a Christian, but would not cease to be a Hindu, so long as he continued to be a member of the Hindu caste to which he belongs. So he would be a Musalman by simply believing in the Kulma (words) : ' God is great and Mahomet is his Prophet ;' but he would not cease to be a Hindu as long as he was not thrown out of the pale of caste.

"Here, then, is the essential characteristic which distinguishes the Hindu from the non-Hindu races of India. All people who are known as Hindus are divided into castes, and there are no people incorporated with the Hindu system who do not belong to one caste or other. The Hindu system is,

therefore, a hierarchy of caste, and those who belong to this hierarchy of caste are Hindus."

A recent incident illustrates my position to a great extent. In the Census Enumeration Form, divided into several columns—Name of the individual, age, married or unmarried, profession—there were the following heads "religion," "sect," "caste," "sub-caste." In the instructions issued to enumerators, under head "religion," it was said that Jains, Brahmos and Sikhs, were not to be classed as Hindus, and examples of "sects" under Hindu religion were given as Vaisnav, Sakta, &c., as under Christianity, they were given as Roman Catholics, Protestants (we hope the Christian sects in India have not yet increased to 261, as they are now reported to have done in England).

Now, what special researches were made by the Census Commissioner into the social and religious conditions of India, and what is his definition of Hinduism, we are not told ; the result will perhaps be that, for statistical purposes, he will have a large class of men put in a different class from the Musalmans, Christians, and Parsis, not that these men necessarily have—all of them—a faith distinguishable from the Christians and Mahomedans ; for in those who will be returned as Hindus, I know for certain, of my own knowledge, one man included, whose faith is entirely Mahomedan, another whose belief is entirely Christian. A further difficulty appears to have been created, because of his ruling that Jains, Sikhs and Brahmos are not to be classed as Hindus. The Jains of Shahabad, one of the most important Jain communities in India, protested in a Memorial which we publish below :—

To The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

SIR,—We the undersigned members of the Jain community, resident in Shahabad District, beg most respectfully to ask the favour of your laying the following memorial before His Honour the Lieutenant Governor.

2.—In the forms of Returns of the forthcoming census, we have been classed as a people separate from the Hindus. This we pray has arisen from a misconception of our religious tenets, and of our social manners and customs.

3.—We know and believe ourselves to be a sect of the Hindus just as the Vaisnavs, the Saktas, and the Saivas are. We observe the Hindu caste system and belong to one of the twice-born castes, called the Agarwalas, who are representatives of the old Vaisyas, and among whom some are Vaisnavs, and some Jains. This is the only difference between us, which is more a difference of sect than of religion.

4.—We observe the Hindu ceremonies of the investiture of the holy thread, the shradh and marriage in the Hindu way, and recognize the Brahmins as our priests. The same Brahmins who officiate at our ceremonies perform also the ceremonies of the other Hindus, without any objection on their part, and they eat at our place without losing their caste, or ceasing to be Brahmins. If we are to be classed as non-Hindus, these ministrations might cease.

5.—It is true we worship in temples different from those of the Hindus, and that some of our Gods are not recognized by them as their Gods, but

such is the case with other sects of the Hindus also. The Vaisnavs have as great a repugnance to the horrors of the Sakta rites as we have of them. Still when a Sakta and a Vaisnav are regarded as members of the same community, we do not see why we are to be excluded from it.

6.—Moreover, if the different sects of the Christian religion, such as Protestants and Roman Catholics, and those of the Mahomedan religion, such as Sunnis and Shias, be grouped together as members of one religion, we certainly, who are nearer to the Hindus than they are to each other should be included in their community.

7.—By differentiating us from the Hindus, specially where Government does it, an unnecessarily social disturbance is created in our community, which may prove highly detrimental to it. At present there is intermarriage between the Agarwalas of Jain and Vaishnavite sect, which is necessary in our scattered and limited communities. If this is stopped, on the assumption that we are entirely aliens to each other in religion, it will entail a very great hardship on us.

8.—The highest Courts of Justice of the country have assigned us the Hindu Law of Inheritance, on the ground that we are a people not separate from the Hindus in religion and in social manners and customs, and that we never had, nor required, any separate Law of Inheritance. But when we are going to be distinguished from the Hindus, it is possible that complications may arise from such a ruling in the disposition of our property.

9.—There are thousand other little incidents, which will be tedious to relate here, that will disturb the harmonious and amicable relations that now subsist between ourselves and the Hindus, if we are separated from them ; we therefore pray that, before adopting such a course, Government will be kind enough to seriously consider it, and if it thinks that our request, in being considered as Hindus, be a reasonable one, we hope it will cause such alterations to be made in the Forms of Census Returns as will include us under the denomination of Hindus."

Similar memorials to Government have been adopted by Jains of the Patna District, and we hear that, in compliance with the request of the memorialists, they are to be classed under head "religion" as Hindus, and under head "sect" as Jains. A like representation was made by an influential section of the Brahmos, those of the Adi-Brahma Samaj, and the Brahmos, at least those who will choose, will come in, under head "religion," as Hindus, and under head "sect," as Brahmos. The Sikhs, too, are to be classed in this way, and the people of Kuch Behar, who were, under the ruling of the Bengal Census Commissioner, to be classed as Kuchis, or Kuch Biharies, are to be classed as Hindus, in accordance with their application in that behalf ; the other non-Aryan Hill-tribes have also successfully preferred their claims to be classed as Hindus.

It must be a matter of agreeable surprise to all Hindus, that, though they do not spend a pice for evangelization, there is such a scrambling among all classes of people in Hindustan, excepting of course the Christians, Mahomedans and Parsis, to be recognized as Hindus, and when a better understanding comes on, we hope we shall have "Hindus" Christians, and Hindus Mahomedans.

But the returns under column, "sect," of the Hindus will be

even at present an interesting study, and in a greater degree illustrative of our position. A large class of men in Behar and people elsewhere have been returned as Bhagwats. Primarily the word means भक्त (Sanskrit) devoted, secondarily the भक्त of Srimat Bhagwat; but in Behar and elsewhere in Northern India, the word has lost both its primary and secondary meanings, and it now means "people who abstain from spirituous liquors of all sorts, meat and fish." The word thus includes not only Vaisnavs, but all the Nanakpanthi followers of the early Guru Nanak, who abstain from fish, meat and spirituous liquors—according to his teachings, a very large number among the lower classes of Behar, as also some amongst the higher classes,—a large number of Kabirpanthis and other non-descripts, such as one or two converts to Hinduism from Mahomedanism, to our certain knowledge.

We shall have to examine the late census proceedings in connection with another position we referred to in our pamphlet, wherein, in showing the elasticity of caste rules, we observed that there is a general attempt at upheaval amongst the masses.

Now, we have Hindu-Jains, Hindu-Sikhs, Hindu-Nanak Sahes, Hindu-Kabarpanthis, Hindu-Brahmos, Hindu-Sophists, Hindu-Agoris, Hindu-Positivists, Hindu-Ghonds, Hindu-Bhils, Hindu-Sonthals, as well as Hindu-Vedics and Hindu-Puranicks. There is not the slightest obstacle, so far as faith is concerned, to our having Hindu-Christians and Hindu-Musulmans, and, as I showed above, we have even now some such amongst us.

The Vedas give evidence of a progressive religion. The Maha-Nirvan Tantra, one of the latest phases of religious systems in India, leaves room for any amount of addition to the Agam and Nigam. Moreover, it introduces into the system the doctrine of सिद्धपुरुष (inspired men), and, if outsiders have to teach us anything new in the domain of religion, let them give it to us as truths brought home to them by a सिद्ध पुरुष.

Now it follows that the definition of this Hindu religion, which has already absorbed so many systems, and which is prepared to absorb others, and, in fact, all truths whatever, from whatever source they come, must be as broad as that of the term religion itself. With an intensely religious people, like the Hindus, the question is whether a man is religious, not what particular religious belief he professes. Well do those who are Hindus call their religion the *Sanatan Dharma*—the eternal life giving religion—the religion of the heart.

A definition of Hindu religion by taking some common characteristic peculiar to itself, as distinguished from our general idea of religion, is, therefore, impossible, and those who try so to

define it, overlook its universality. Nor let a Hindu think that his religion is disparaged when it is said that the Sonatan Hindu Dharma does not admit of a definition, as the book-religions in the world do ; and let him not bring in false analogy to crib and confine this one progressive religion of the world. Let him be proud of a religion which is tolerant of all faiths, and which fully recognizes the different stages of development of religious faiths in men. It is, as the *Amritabazar Patrika* says, and the history of its development proves, "the most progressive and vigorous of all religious faiths," and "is prepared to receive any truth from any source whatever," and fully represent the religious idea and the growth and development of that idea in man. It is only men of no faith who, perhaps, will say, that it shall not have an everlasting lease of life, and that in its universality it shall not cover the whole world.

This capacity for progress is intimately connected with two grand truths, which the Hindu alone had the courage of his conviction to present as religious truths. These are the key-notes of the entire system prevailing in India, which, if the truth were to be candidly professed, would explain systems outside India as well.

Does not the idea of Godhead, in relation to subject mind, differ quantitatively and qualitatively (we hope we shall be excused for the use of these expressions), even in two Christians, or even in two Mahomedans, or even in the same Christian, or same Mahomedan, at different stages of his development, even though his idea is defined in a book? The Hindus take into account this relativity of our ideas of Godhead to subject mind, and the various shades of belief that are the consequence of this condition in the minds of men, and who will say, when metaphorically the Hindu spoke of 33 crores of deities, that he was wrong? If each of us has an idol of his own, not of clay but of mind, as our idea of Godhead, differing, as we said, not only quantitatively, but qualitatively as well, shall we not between the Unknowable, the Incomprehensible, the HE IS, which the highest Jnana in India preaches, and which satisfies the eldest sons (জ্যেষ্ঠ), come to have 280 crores according to our latest census, not to take into consideration the idols of the world at large, the innumerable creations of the fancy of sons younger (কনিষ্ঠ).

It is one of these eldest sons of India who said :—

অধিকারিভেদেন পশু বাহুল্যতঃ প্রিয়ে ।

দেবা নানাবিধাঃ প্রোক্তা দেবে, হি । বহুধা প্রিয়ে ॥

ম । নির্বাকত্ব ।

"There are different Gods and Goddesses, my beloved, according to the varying stages of development of the adhikari (owner man)."

And another said in consequence :—

যে যথা মাং প্রপস্যাতে তাং তথৌ ভজ্যমাংসং ।

ভাগবতগীতা ।

"In whatever form a man may worship me, I accept it in that form."

One said :—

চিন্ময়স্যাহি তীক্ষ্ণস্য নিষ্কলস্যাপরীরিণঃ

উপাসকানাং কাৰ্য্যার্থং ব্রহ্মণো রূপকল্পনা ॥

রূপ স্থানাং দেবতানাং পুং স্ত্র্যাং শাদিকল্পনা ॥

শ্রী ভক্ত যমদগ্নি বচন

"The devotee, for the purpose of devotion, imagines to himself a form of the Deity who is without form, without a denomination, without a second, and is all-wise. When imagination is allowed play, the form imagined is that of man or of woman."

And another said :—

রূপ নানাধিনির্দেশবিশেষণবিবৰ্জিতঃ

অপকল্পবিনাশাভ্যাং পরিণাসতি ভ্রমভিঃ

বৰ্জিতঃ শক্যতে বক্তুং যঃ সদাস্তীতি কেবলম্ ।

বিষ্ণু পুরাণ ।

"The supreme soul is without the attribute of form or name, indestructible, and not subject to pain or birth. The only thing that can be predicated of Him is, that *He exists*."

It is remarkable that the terms Hindu (Hinduism), Hindu Dharma and Hindustan, now invariably adopted by all classes of people inhabiting India, as applicable to themselves, with the exception of Musalmans, Christians and Parsis, are not to be found in any Sanscrit books pretending to any antiquity. There are some people (followers of Dyanand Saraswati), a small number, who say that, because the name is of foreign origin and latterly applied by Musalmans as a term of opprobrium to the natives of the country, the name should be discarded, and the name Aryan adopted instead. Some of the Brahmos, too, of the Sudharan Brahma Samaj, by birth Hindus, evince something like horror at being called Hindus. It is to be hoped that they will ennoble by their life examples the new names which they have adopted, but to the Dyanandi Aryans we say, the best way to rid a national name of its

opprobrium is to stick to it, and to ennoble it by the life example of those bearing the common name, and not by flying from one name to another. The Thebans, the Bœotians of the Greeks, even now a nick-name, stuck to their name, and became, when the glory of Spartans and Athenians had fled, the most prominent race amongst the Greeks. Does the name serve to explain in any way the position we started? I suppose it does. And that is why I advert to it. And, in this connection, we shall examine the origin of the term, under what circumstances the Hindus adopted it, and what it means at the present date.

It is just possible that the dwellers on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries, both Aryans and non-Aryans, were called by the people living more to the West, *Sindhus*, and they themselves passed by that name, as an appropriate geographical denomination of themselves. The Persians and their neighbours of the West pronounced *Sindhus*, Hindus, as latterly the Greeks, dropping the hard aspirate, called the Persian word Hindu "Indu," and the country they inhabited "India." The Persians calling the country "Hindustan" from the Punjab to Benares, the Musalmans extended the name first to all the country north of the Vindhya chain and then to the whole country from the Indus to the Brahmaputra and from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin. Not that a common geographical name had not been given by the people of the pre-Mahomedan period to the country at large, though it was divided into several states. Bharat was such a name, and Arya Barta such another; and the conquering race called themselves Aryans, just as another conquering race in another country called themselves Franks, and the aborigines, Dasas or Dasyas (robbers), Krishna Varna (black colour) and latterly non-Aryans (अनार्या). There must have been very sharp lines of distinction between the Aryans and non-Aryans at one time. The Aryans worshipped their own Gods, the non-Aryans theirs. The non-Aryans lived beyond the outskirts of Aryan settlements, and those who lived within were reduced to slavery, as the condition on which they were allowed to exist. Gradually, as time wore on, things mended a good deal. The Aryan influence extended not only by conquest and colonization, but also by conversion, marriages, and political alliances. With the acclimatization of the Aryans, they adopted some of the non-Aryan customs and manners, and introduced some of their Gods into their Pantheon. The non-Aryans did the same; but, as the Vedas were in a language known only to the Aryans, they had no means of attaining to a knowledge of the Vedas, which, afterwards, by a process of exclusiveness, was confined to the

Aryan class, or such of the non-Aryans as the Dravidan races, which by treaty alliances came to be held to be equal to the Aryans. The distinction engendered, of the inequality of conquerors and conquered, of Aryans and *Dasyas*, of white and black, of masters and slaves, and of the whites amongst themselves, on account of differences of knowledge, prowess, position and occupation gave place to caste distinctions, which began to grow, and with them fictions of a common origin from the same Brahma, or from the same Manu, but for different purposes. This, perhaps, was the earliest enunciation of an identity of race, vague and indistinct. At last, common danger from external foes, which overwhelmed the Aryans and non-Aryans, gave rise to a community of feelings and sentiments; and it was at this stage, it appears, that the common Hindu name was adopted, in the sense of a people all of the same country, "Hindustan," as opposed to the foreigners—Musalman invaders. It was not, as can be gathered from this historic origin, the name of a people having a common religion, but a people who adopted this common name, as a bond of union among themselves, to avoid a common danger and to repel a common foe. This common name indicative of complex ideas—geographical, social, racial, political—originated in the same way as a common national life has grown in any other geographical division. Mr. Reill, in his exposition of nationality, says:—

'A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality, if they are united amongst themselves, by common sympathies, which do not exist between them and any others, which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same Government by themselves, or a portion of themselves, exclusively. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language, and community of religion, greatly contribute to it.

"Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the *strongest of all* is identity of political antecedents, the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past. None of these circumstances, however, are either indispensable or necessarily sufficient by themselves."

The Aryans and non-Aryans of India forgot their differences and adopted a common name, which the Persians had given to them, in token of their common sympathy in view of a common danger, and co-operated with each other, however temporarily and however unsuccessfully, to keep up the

Government of their own, or a portion of their own. Their humiliations, their regrets, connected with their failure, as also the traditionary pleasant reminiscences of the past to which Aryans and non-Aryans now equally laid claim as a people, however varying the religious idea amongst them—made them one. It is thus found that the term 'Hindu' originally signified a geographical Hindu, that is, people living in the same country ; then the idea became more complex, and signified a national or political 'Hindu,' as applied by the Aryans and non-Aryans of India to themselves, as distinguishing them from their foreign invaders ; and at that date Hinduism was a political and not a religious organization.

But a critic asks, what is my object in thus trying to make out that Hinduism is not a religious organization. I say to my critic that my object is simply to state a truth ; but if he wishes to know what is the value of that truth, he, at least, I hope, will bear with me in the little digression that follows :—We have pointed out that the idea involved in the term was originally geographical ; it afterwards came to be political, and it had nothing special of religion about it, except that it differentiated the class thus designated from the Mahomedans, who, out of contempt, called their foes—Aryans and non-Aryans, the wise Brahmins and the ignorant Bhils—*Kafirs*, that is to say non-believers, in a revealed book. Thus, even in the inception, so far as the *religious element* was concerned, a kind of negation came to be associated with the idea. The idea of a nationality in this sense came to be developed, when the Hindu-Sikhs rose to be a nation. The old idea which was prominently before those who had the forming of the Sikhs into a nation, could but include a portion of the then existing people of the Punjab, and this circumstance required that it should be such. This was the weakest point, and the growth was not at all healthy, but it succeeded to a certain extent, because it had effectually united the Aryans and non-Aryans in a common political body. Even the Mehtars (sweepers of the Hindus, the lowest of the low) had their position in the political body. They were formed into regiments, and had the term 'Sinha' applied to them, like other Sikhs.

The growth of the Mahratta power, the rise of another branch of the Hindu race, demonstrates the same position. In so far as it produced a solidarity amongst the Aryans and non-Aryans of a portion of India, it grew. The Kambis, the Gaekwars, and so on—classes otherwise despised by Brahmins—came to have a recognized position, and the identity of aim made all co-operate in the same direction. Community of religion did not play much part in the fostering of that growth. All the Aryans and non-Aryans became politically developed

Hindus, because it was their interest to be so,—but the weakness was latent. Both these movements were directed against an important section of the population of the country, which could not be effaced, and the result was partial growth and eventual collapse.

To avert common danger from foreign invasions, the Aryans and non-Aryans coalesced under the common name Hindu; is it too much to expect that all the people of India will again coalesce under a common name, and this time avoid the errors of the past. The Hindus became a prey to foreigners, because, though they became one in name, it was at a very late hour of the day, when there was no time for solidarity, and afterwards, the idea, as it was at first associated with the name, became out of date, or capable only of partial development, as we find in the growth of the powers of Mahrattas and Sikhs.

Let not the error be repeated. It lies with the existing Government, as well as with the people, to avoid the mistake. True statesmanship, while assisting in the growth of this highest 'Indianism,' as securing the ultimate good of a vast portion of mankind, ought to avoid anything calculated to produce the least friction between party and party. The people, on the other hand, ought to understand and fully realize the truth, which is apparent, that it is not possible in the nature of things that any one of the existing sections of the population shall be effaced. There may be now apparent conflicts—there may be at times outbursts of fanatical intolerance, but there is much evaporation in our sunny clime of Ind. A critic was good enough to point out to me that Islam is as intolerant as ever, and the spirit of reaction is growing in European Turkey and Europeanised Persia, and in these days of rapid communication, by the aid of steamers, telegrams and newspaper, the reactionary move is coming on *apace* in India. I read in the *Contemporary Review* of February last, an interesting article on the subject of this reaction and its causes, by one of the highest authority on the subject, Prince Malcolm Khan. He says that this reaction is simply the expression of the resentment of *Islam* against the intrusiveness, or supposed intrusiveness of Christianity. To use his own words "the whole history of Asia Minor has been one long fight with Christianity. They (Persians) know well the history of the Crusades, and they think that your present policy is still a crusade, but only in a more civilized form. A crusade of science. It is still the Christian religion, which attacks Islamism, but instead of attacking it, as in past times, by arms, it attacks it by science, by policy, by trade, and by financial power. But the situation is just the same. Under these circumstances, anything coming from Europe is opposed and must be opposed." Wherever really there is no such

intrusiveness, wherever there is a brotherly welcome, as in India,* the intolerance, if any, supposed, without examination of the grounds thereof, to be inherent in Islamism, gives way, and a factious and *fictitious* reactionary move, even if stimulated by extraneous influences, soon disappears.

We showed, in a previous article, how this supposed intolerance gave way in India, and how all reactionary moves amongst our Mahomedan brethren in relation to Hinduism have been only temporary. In this connection we shall ask the curious reader to read further a few chapters of the early life of Chaitanya, his relation with the Mahomedan Kazi of Navadip, and the Kertan (singing procession) near about the Kazi's house. The conversion of Rup Sanatan, the life of Kabir, the life of Nanak, and the life of many Mahomedans, Aelia Sophies of the present day, whose religious teachings sway the inner life of most of our Mahomedan brethren. But the further question is: "Is the spirit of Islam antagonistic to progress?"

Let us hear what Prince Malcolm has to say—(it may, perhaps, remind our readers, of what we said of Hinduism in April last year) :—

"Islam, as I have said, is an ocean, in which are accumulated all the sciences of the past times of Asia—then for any new law or new principle you wish to promulgate, you can find in that ocean many precepts and maxims which support and confirm what you want to introduce. As to the principles which are found in Europe, which constitute the root of your civilization, we must get hold of them, somehow no doubt, but, instead of taking them from London or Paris, it would be easy to take the same principle and to say it comes from Islam, and that this can be soon proved. We have had some experience in this direction. We find that ideas which were by no means accepted when coming from your agents in Europe, were accepted at once with the greatest delight when it was proved that they were latent in Islam. I can assure you that the little progress which we see in Persia and Turkey, specially in Persia, is due to this fact, that some people have taken your European principles, and, instead of saying that they came from Europe, from England, France, or Germany, have said—'We have nothing to do with Europeans; these are the true principles of our own religion (and, indeed, that is quite true), which have been taken by Europeans,' that has had a marvellous effect at once."

* The Hindu ascetic who used to be carried up by a ladder, and placed on a platform separate from the room where Akbar used to sit for his evening discussions, so as to avoid the touch of the Royal Melecha, yet taught him the high doctrine of toleration to all religious views.

A disregard of a like sensitiveness as regards extraneous influences by Government, and by people who wish to introduce reforms amongst the Hindus and Mahomedans in India, has been fruitful of mistakes, resulting in temporary reaction and arrest of progress.

So far as the Hindus are concerned, sometimes a reaction originating in an error (a common one) that to move the masses, to produce "a natural life" in India, religion must come in, and a religion common to all Hindus, has retarded progress. To move the masses and to produce a national life, are not, however, always convertible terms; and then, what is this common religion which the good-meaning people intend to give us? It cannot, if what we have said in the preceding pages is correct, be the *Sanatan Hindu Dharma*. The keynotes of that Sanatan Dharma are harmonious to religious feelings in man, and their expression is always varied and varying.

We have said that Hinduism represents a progressive state of religious knowledge and faith, and that it is in these respects eclectic. We shall now show that so far as the Karmas—works (rituals and ceremonies)—are concerned, it is eclectic also. A few words of preface appear necessary. We showed, in a previous article, that out of the Das Sanskar (10 sacramental rites) the only two, the non-compliance with which brings on forfeiture of caste at the present day in the case of all Hindus, are marriages and shradh; that is to say, if a Hindu marries at all, he must marry according to Hindu rituals if he be Dwiya (twice born), or according to rules prevalent in the caste if not a Dwiya. Here, again, we meet with a broad distinction between Dwiyas and non-Dwiyas. The shradh to be performed is that of parents, and grandparents if parents are not living to do it, and of husband by wife, in cases where there are no children, and, even in such cases, while the ritual is Vedic or Puranic in the Jalchal classes, it is regulated by custom (not at all Vedic or Puranic) amongst the other classes of Hindus. The Upanayan (investiture with the sacred thread) and tonsure are ceremonies compulsory amongst Dwiyas, and Dwiyas only, though this rule I have seen so far relaxed in particular parts of the country that, out of a number of Brahmin witnesses in an adoption case in Behar, almost half the number did not know the Gyatri. Local and family customs vary considerably even amongst classes where the Vedic ritual is to some extent followed, and more in marriages than perhaps in shradhs. Thus East Bengal does not know the (গায়ে হলুদ) *Gai Huloot*, and (আইবর ভাত) *Eibaru-Bhat*, and (বো ভাত) *Bawbhat*, with which West Bengal begins and ends the marriage ceremony, and the only features common to the marriage ceremony of Bengal

and the rest of India are the *Saptapadi*, the *Nandy*, and the marriage mantras amongst twice-born classes. It will thus appear, that, amongst four-fifths of the people known as Hindus, but who do not come under the class twice-born, or who did not at any time belong to that class, none of the *Das Sanskars* prevail, and they regulate the most important rites in life, by following a sort of local custom, changeable and changing from time to time. Those of my critics who say that Hinduism is the observance of Karma Kanda, and *Das Sanskars*, will, I hope, find the above a satisfactory answer. As the religious faiths of the Hindus do not very properly admit of a common definition, so too, their customs, with all local variations, do not admit of a common generalization in the way in which my critics suggest, and to say that Hinduism is the observance of *Das Sanskars*, while most of them have no currency at the present moment, is as good as to say that Hinduism is the beef-eating, shome-juice drinking Aryanism of ancient times.

I now come to my own definition. I said that what the Hindus, or the majority in a Hindu community *do*, is Hinduism—and I said that those people at present domiciled in India who belong to a hierarchy of caste, are Hindus. I analyzed caste and showed how even the caste rules were changeable and eclectic, and furthermore, that there is a general attempt at upheaval amongst the masses. An interesting illustration of this is furnished and transpired at the last census. People objected to be classed as Chandals by caste; the Rajbansis of Rungpur would not be classed Kuchis or Kuch Beharies; they prefer their claim to be Khetrias. Several classes prefer claims to be ranked as Vaishya.

I showed, in accordance with facts which no one, I hope, can gainsay, that Hinduism is a moving and progressive entity, both in religious beliefs and social matters. A true Hindu would not revere anything that is old, because of its antiquity, but he would conserve any thing that is good which he might find in antiquity, or associated with it. The true Hindu would not tolerate an abuse because it is hoary, but would say, as Vijaineshwara of revered memory did say, of old, (Mitakshara, Chapter I. Section iii. Verse 4): "Practise not that which is legal under the sacred ordinances, but is abhorred by the world, (for) it secures not celestial bliss;" and he would say this whenever necessary, only he would say it himself. He cannot allow others to say this to him. His *amour propre* is justly roused when this is done. The Hindus are thus essentially a custom-making people. Custom, of course, takes a longer time to grow and crystallize, and bears also a longer lease of life than a legislative enactment; and when it grows or dies, it grows or dies with the consensus

of a whole people. It thus undergoes the test (which summary legislative enactment, even under the best of circumstances, cannot) that it is either good for a whole community for the time being, or it is not. As a matter very intimately connected with this, let those who think that the time is not yet come for an expansion of our Legislative Councils by the introduction of the elective principle, note what the Hindus did, or what they do even now, in many matters affecting their well-being, and how they did it, or how they do it even now.

The first springing up of a custom must rest with the people, and with, perhaps, a section of the people. The matter which, of course, would need further sanction, or to which certain sanction would be attached, would have to go for such sanction before tribunals, or assemblies, vested with the powers of such sanction ; and thus grew the customary laws of India primarily with the people, or a section of people, these finding their sanction in tribunals or assemblies of the people themselves, and it ultimately being codified in the *Sanhitas* or commentaries thereof. A description of these popular tribunals in ancient India, and how their decision used to be arrived at by a majority of votes, may not be amiss.* These were :—1st, Kings Council ; 2nd, Assemblies of townsmen ; 3rd, Companies of traders ; 4th, Families. Families were assemblages of relatives, cognate connections and kinsmen ; companies of traders were assemblages of persons of similar or various tribes exercising the same calling ; assemblies of townsmen were assemblages of various tribes and various professions living in a town or village. A tribunal composed of families had a jurisdiction inferior to that of a tribunal composed of the companies of traders ; and so a company of traders exercised a jurisdiction inferior to that of an assembly of townsmen ; the tribunal of a higher grade exercising appellate jurisdiction over one of a lower grade. Over all these, was the court of the King in Council, presided over, in the absence of the King, by the Chief Judge (প্রাচী বিবাক), and composed of assessors taken from all classes of men.

The jurisdiction extended to all cases of a civil and criminal nature, and as the jurisdiction of the remnants of these institutions shows, to all social questions as well which came before these tribunals in the form, either of a civil or a criminal proceeding ; the number of members, as we find in the case of the assessors composing the King's Council, was, in all these institutions, an uneven number, showing that matters used to be decided by a majority of votes. The members composing

* A complete description of them, their jurisdiction and their mode of procedure, is to be found in *Mitakshara*, Chapter I. Sec. i.

each of these assemblies, as we find in the case of their remnants even now, were representative men.

With the subjugation of Hindus by foreigners, and the consequent loss of their political powers, these institutions fell into disuse, and only survived in some places as *Panchayats*, with jurisdiction extending only to social questions and to civil and criminal cases of not much importance. The only way in which the award of the Panchayat can now be enforced is by a deprivation of caste rights, or cessation of Brahminical ministry, for a time, or for ever. This has crystallized caste and Brahminical influence to a great extent, for whereas the assemblies, we note in the *Mitakshara*, were composed, in cases of Councils of townsmen, of people of all castes, the present Panchayats are composed, in almost all cases, of men of one caste alone. In Bengal, as we said in a previous chapter, an informal sort of meeting of men of the *Bhadralogue* (gentlemen) class, Brahmins, Vaidyas, Kaisthas, is now and then held to discuss and to take cognizance of matters pertaining to breaches of caste rules ; but elsewhere in India these meetings are confined to the caste itself, which alone can enforce its order by the kind of sanction noted above.

The organization, in this changed form, is, however, found very much more developed in some parts of India than in others, and not so much among the upper classes as among the lower classes of people ; and the reason for this is obvious. Customs amongst the lower orders have not been codified at all ; they have always been left unwritten ; so that while, with the loss of the political power of the Hindus, their popular institutions having ceased to exist, the higher classes, scarcely as we said 15 per cent. of those known as Hindus, have fallen back more or less on these written codes, and the interpretation thereof by the Pundits,* the lower classes have still to depend on their Panchayat to declare what the unwritten law is, and the kind of sanction for

* The principal centres of these Pundits in Bengal are Navadip, Tribini, Vicrampur and Backla. The Pundits are either mere grammarians, (Vyakaranik), lawyers (Smartas), or logicians (Nyaeks). The Nyaeks hold the highest rank ; next to the Nyaeks are the Smartas, and last comes the Vyakaranik. The Bengal Nyaeks obtain their title in the *toles*, by reading the Nyashastra (logic) the curriculum does not include any system of Durshan (philosophy), or any of the Vedas or Puranas, or Dharma Shastra (law). The Smartas read only the Dharma Shastras prevalent in the Bengal School—Dyabhaga and Raghunandan's compilation of Smrities. The Vyakaraniks obtain their title on account of proficiency in grammar and rhetoric. The Pundits subsist on alms. For reasons very similar to those which influenced our courts to disregard the Vyvasthas of the Court Pundit, when the Court Pundit was an institution in our court, the Samajiks disregard their Vyvasthas in many cases. In all parts of India the Pundits have to give Vyvasthas only in cases when the matter is referred to them by the caste people.

its non-observance. Nowhere is this Panchayat system found in a more developed form than among the lower orders of the people of Behar : among the classes of Kairis, Kurmis, Kahars, Telis, &c. We find among them five grades of caste councils : Gawan, Jawar, Baisi, Panchmahal, and Chaurasi ; of which the first is the lowest court, and the last the highest court of appeal. An appeal cannot go direct to the Chaurasi, but must pass through the intermediate courts. The Gawan Council consists of members chosen from two or more conterminous villages. The word Jawar, literally means " neighbour, " but in this case signifies a tract of country composed of villages surrounding the family residence of some recognized person. Its extent is fixed ; but, of course, there can be no rule regulating the number of villages which make up a Jawar. The term Baisi signifies a court consisting of 22 Panchayats, but this number is not strictly adhered to. The Panchmahal has a still larger jurisdiction ; and the Chaurasi is the supreme over all, its jurisdiction extending over several districts.

Every Panchayat has a Sardar, or headman, called Mahtan, whose office is hereditary. But, should the son be incompetent, the members of the caste proceed to elect another headman ; and the office remains in the new family, except in the case above alluded to, or on failure of male issue. Offences triable by Panchayats may be broadly classified thus :—(1) Civil claims, (2) Social offences in which the women of the family are concerned, and where exposure would be disgraceful, (3) Assault, abusive language, &c., (4) Theft, (5) Extortion, (6) " Maintenance." The punishments are fine and social ostracism. An aggrieved party first goes to the Sardar and makes his complaint. If he has a *prima facie* case, the Chhari Sardar (Chaprasi) of the Panchayats is sent to summon the other members of the Council ; and word is sent to the defendant that he is accused of a certain offence, and that the case will be heard on a certain day. Each party brings his witnesses. These are sworn, examined, and cross-examined, and so also are the parties themselves. The decision of the Panchayat is then given, and the party aggrieved thereby may appeal to the next Court. There are no published codes of law, but the rulings of the Chaurasi are preserved in M.S. and a copy is given to the Baisi Sardar. If the plaintiff wins his suit, he generally recovers all his expenses, together with some small sum to make up for the injury done to him. In cases of appeal, the appellant has to deposit travelling expenses. If the defendant refuses to pay the fine imposed, the course adopted is very simple, but very severe. The *huka* (pipe) of the defaulter is stopped, no one will dine with him or entertain him, his family cannot be married, and not even his kinsmen dare help him.

There is thus an amount of intolerance exhibited which would not have been the case if, on account of absence of legislative recognition, the sanction, for its award were not confined to such sanction alone, as the caste, without making itself amenable to the criminal law of the country, could inflict, though in their nature they are by far harder than would otherwise be inflicted if they had a choice of sanctions, as they had when the institutions were political institutions of the land. This would also not be the case if the caste, sitting with people of other caste, had the benefit of their dispassionate thinking, as they would have had in ancient India in their assemblies of townsmen and King's Council. At present the Panchayat, being confined to the people of the caste alone, a dispassionate judgment, when the people of a caste are divided over a question, is difficult to attain. It goes without saying that, while there would be greater wisdom in a more extended Council, a more liberal view as to the well-being of the community would probably be taken, and this is not very possible under the present circumstances.

To all, therefore, interested in the welfare of India, we say, revive the ancient Councils of India. To Government we submit, "Why shall we not say again, as Vijeshnawara said of old (Mitakshara, Chapter I, Section iii. Verse 4): 'Practise not that which is legal by sacred ordinances, but is abhorred by the world (for) it secures not celestial bliss?' only allow us to say it ourselves: It touches our *amour propre*, if others say it to us. If, with the modern theory of legislation, you cannot leave us in every matter to our good old system of custom-making, which *ex-necessitate* takes time, you can safely allow us, without any prejudice to any interests whatever with the protection of which you are concerned, to fight and wrangle amongst ourselves in a Council, the jurisdiction of which you may restrict as much as you like, watching our fight from your serene and august distance, and exercising your right of dissolving our Paddington Parliaments as often as you see that we do not rise to the height of telling our countrymen: "Practise not that which is legal under your sacred ordinances, but is abhorred by the world at large, (for) it secures not celestial bliss," and sanctioning our decrees in your Supreme Council when we do. This, at least, will save you from the pain of having your benevolent motives misconstrued and misunderstood.

To one section of my countrymen I say, we are moving, however, imperceptibly by ourselves; and it is not easy to move a whole nation, and the life of a nation is, at any rate, very long indeed. We cannot be moved by extraneous forces, for the whole social fabric is so framed that, if you apply extraneous force at one part, there is a danger of the whole

coming to a dead-lock at another part. And if it ought not to touch our *amour propre* to be told to move by a legislature composed almost entirely of foreigners, we know that they do not understand us, our social system and our difficulties. Consider the above premises, when you seek extraneous aid, and if you wish us to move faster than we are doing at present, the first thing you should do, is to apply your head and heart to get some sort of voice in the Legislative Councils of India, or at best to get revived the Councils indicated in the Mitakshara, as Councils subordinate to the Supreme Councils, where you and your countrymen alone should decide what is for the good of your own social well being.

To another section of my countrymen, I say : Under no mood forget that the Sonatan Hindu Dharma is a moving and progressive system, and, so far as its social ethics are concerned, it is settled by the voice of people, or say a majority of people, with regard to surrounding circumstances as to their ultimate good. The expression of that voice differs from time to time as the changing circumstances differ, and there is a relativity, as in other ideas, in our idea of the ultimate good of our people. You have made your customs, and you make your customs even now, by adherence to the above premises, and while you should never cease to join with the rest of your countrymen in trying to achieve some amount of political freedom by getting a voice in your Legislative Councils, see that, with the limited and narrow powers you even now possess, you conform so well to the true spirit of your system, to the true spirit of the times, and to the surrounding circumstances, that you give not even the slightest excuse for any extraneous forces being ever brought to bear on you.

To all my countrymen I say ; Join hands and proceed on your onward march.

GURU PROSHAD SEN.

ART XII.—THREE WEEKS IN CAMP.

THE trap is at the door, the bags and bundles are all packed in, the harness carefully inspected, and the reins put straight. "Jump up," say P. F., "and don't take long about it;" and up we get, feeling slightly nervous as to how the new horse is going to behave. "The Slogger" has only just returned from the trainer, and we have been warned that, although he is as quiet as a lamb, he likes to go. He begins fairly enough, waiting as patiently as a worn-out old cob horse until we are seated. Then, off we go, and our three weeks' camping has begun. How will our first morning's journey end? At our camp, or in the ditch? The Slogger evidently does like to go, and as the road lies straight and clear before us, we are well pleased to let him put his best foot foremost. How enjoyable it is to sit behind a really good goer, and feel the fresh morning air rushing past one's ears.

"I should enjoy it rather more," says P. F., to whom I confide all my enjoyment, "if this beast didn't pull so hard. He is pulling my arms off."

As the arms were good strong ones, and The Slogger showed signs of settling into the steady pace that had earned him his name, I continued to enjoy myself. Bright sunshine, clear cold air, with no chilling fog lying over the land, such as spoils the cold weather mornings in Lower Bengal—creeping into one's bones, to sow the seeds of fever and rheumatism—ought we not to make the most of such rare blessings? It is good to feel one's face tingle with the cold and to draw deep breaths of the pure fresh morning air. Pure air?—wait a little, we are on the outskirts of a village, and it is, perhaps, as well to wait until we have left it well behind us before calling the air pure.

"*Khabardar!*" shouts P. F., as a string of women trail slowly across the road, "*Khabardar!*" yells the syce, at a group of children, making mud pies in front of them—the women hardly care to quicken their pace until the horse is close upon them, and the wheel goes dangerously near the last of them, but the children scuttle off laughing and shouting. The probability of the smallest baby being left sprawling in the road, or of half the little urchins darting back in front of us, makes P. F. rein in The Slogger, much to that animal's disgust. He has just settled down to his work, and strongly disapproves of having to walk quietly through the dirty narrow streets of a large village—or town, as it would be called in England,

if such a miserable attempt at a town could exist there. Why, oh ! why, do all the old women—and their name is legion—crawl along the middle of the street? Why do mothers let their babies crawl there, and their cows and goats lie there? Why do men have their heads shaved just in the place where the wheels of any passing vehicle must shave their backs? Can anyone explain why anyone and everyone should be allowed to obstruct the traffic by utilizing the public street as a dressing-room, a cowshed, a stable, a market, a play-ground, a sleeping-place, a nursery, a goods' shed, and, worst of all, a dirt heap? One man has put up a rough shelter of mats to keep the sun off his stall of dirty sweetmeats, and the props that support it project several feet into the road; another has spread his small stock of grain on mats to dry; and a third is mending a broken ekka. As the street is about ten feet wide, these obstructions threaten to block the way. At the sound of wheels, the men leisurely remove their persons out of danger, and, if specially interested in the cows, poke their ribs to make them get out of the way: the cows turn their heads to the walls of the houses and allow their hind-quarters to remain in danger.

"Take care, P. F.! That cow's tail was nearly off."

"*Hi ! hi !*"—shouts the syce—" *Baba !*" and a baby it is, right in the way, and no one looking after it.

"Take that child away," shouts P. F. to a couple of men who are within arm's length of the miserable little scrap of humanity. "It is not mine," replies one of the men, as they both move aside. I expect to hear the child's bones being crushed under the wheel, as The Slogger is pulled nearly into a sweetmeat shop to try to save it, but a woman manages to pull it away, and, dragging it up on to her hip by one arm, walks off with it unconcernedly. Then the syce is sent ahead, and shouts "*Khabardar*" until he is hoarse, and pushes the old women aside, and shoves the cows out of the way, and we reach the further side of the village with unstained wheels, as far as the blood of our fellow creatures is concerned. Within the next half mile we meet an unlimited supply of old women, who tempt their fate under the wheels—they have good reason to believe in fate, for surely nothing else saves these miserable, impassive old creatures from meeting the death they court, while our blood curdles at the sight of a grey-headed old woman meandering about the road under The Slogger's nose, and we crack our voices in shouting at her, P. F. having to pull the horse almost back on his haunches to save her from, shall I say, an untimely end? She herself is perfectly unmoved; she neither quickens her pace, nor moves a muscle of her grim old face. The younger women, and men, are nearly as bad—are they all afflicted with deafness, or are they so

careless of life as not to feel the ordinary instinct of self-preservation?

Every village is the same, and The Slogger gets accustomed to walking through them, instead of taking them at full trot. Fortunately, on a cold morning like this, one's olfactory nerves are not subjected to any unbearable shock, and the people afford endless "studies in brown." What wonderfully ugly faces the old women have! Coarse, hard, and ill-tempered, without the faintest shadow of a smile on them. Poor old souls! This cold weather, that stirs our blood so pleasantly and brings fresh life to our exhausted bodies, must be a bitter trial to them; to us it brings health and strength,—to them, aching bones and shivering misery. Why do we seldom or ever see any of these poor old creatures well clothed and comfortable looking? The family tie—is in some respects—very strong in India; but surely it can be nothing more than a mere outward show of respect that is paid to parents, when mothers and grandmothers are allowed to crawl about in thin rags, while sons and grandsons are warmly wrapped up in padded cloths and blankets. The number of old women to be seen in every village is astounding, but there are not nearly so many old men. The reason of this is, no doubt, the hard lives the women lead. They age much sooner than the men. Hard work, less food, and more exposure to the cold, cannot fail to have their effect. The men take the cream of everything, and the women subsist on what they can get. What wonder that they grow hard and sour looking, and that their tongues clack loudly on the slightest provocation? The beggars are well off compared with these miserably-clad and poorly-fed mothers and grandmothers. The privation they endure increases as they grow older. The younger women, who have children to rear, are better fed and cared for. The number of sturdy little rascals that swarm in every village show that the mothers must be fairly strong and healthy; it is after the first six or eight years of married life that they age rapidly. Some of the old crones may be childless widows, with no one to care for them, but not many; and they all look starved and miserable, a reproach to the men who allow their much respected mothers to shiver in the cold, while they themselves are warmly clad.

A few elderly women, sitting behind their baskets of saleable wares, have a somewhat better-cared-for appearance. Probably they are the more enterprising spirits who are strong enough to fight their own battles, and, instead of submitting passively to a life of semi-starvation, earn their own living by becoming shop-keepers on a very small scale.

The children are far pleasanter "studies in brown"—fat little babies, sturdy young rascals, and pretty little maidens.

Dozens of them, of all ages and sizes, and in all kinds of queer costumes, swarm in every village. Nature's every-day suit is the favorite costume, but there are many wonderful garments displayed on the small creatures. Small jackets of curious shape and many colors are displayed for sale in a low shed at the corner, hung on a string; and below the row of jackets a couple of *durzies* sit, cross-legged, stitching some more of the bright colored little garments. Close by, another string is stretched across one of those low dens that are miscalled shops, and a score of curious little caps, with long ear-flaps, hang from it—red ones, bound with pink; green with mauve binding; every bright color contrasted with a still brighter one. When new and clean, these brilliant touches of color add greatly to the picturesqueness of the people; but alas! their brightness soon fades, and the accumulated dirt of many days reduces them to a uniform shade of oily dinginess. Dirty or clean, the small wearers are just as happy. Look at a group of a dozen or so of them, sitting on the floor of a somewhat better class of shop, sorting grain; they are laughing and chattering merrily, and, when they have earned a few cowries, will rush off and join their play-fellows in making mud pies, and flying kites. A School Board Inspector would, no doubt, be shocked to see these children playing in the streets, nursing baby brothers and sisters, or busily employed in sorting *dhal*, but we are not shocked. The healthy, happy children are one of the pleasantest features in Behar village life; and fortunately there are as yet no School Boards to deprive them of any of the pleasures of their short childhood. Life grows hard for them soon enough. Do you see that pretty little creature with a red *saree* hanging in tatters round her?—What a bright, rogueish face she has, as she cries "*Salaam, Salaam!*" and dances about behind the trap. In a few years she will be toiling along with a baby in her arms and a basket on her head, a dirty cloth pulled over her head, and a shrewish look on her face. All the prettiness and brightness will have gone—there is no

Standing with reluctant feet
Where the brook and river meet
Womanhood and girlhood sweet

for her. In Indian women, this change from childhood to womanhood is always rapid. In the hard every-day life of the lower classes, it is much more so than amongst the higher classes, and it is noticeable how few young girls are seen amongst the women who are moving about the villages, or employed in the ordinary duties of agricultural or household life.

We are clear of the village at last, and The Slogger can move freely again. Good roads are the rule in Behar, as bad

ones are in Lower Bengal, and we get along gaily. The sun is tolerably high by this time, but the air is too cold for us to mind his mild attentions, and the country looks almost pretty, flooded in the subdued sunshine of a December morning. The mango topes are very fine, and redeem the flatness of the landscape from actual ugliness. The mustard fields are beginning to deck the land in a light veil of yellow. A few weeks later the color will deepen to a rich gold, and be more general, and the young wheat, that shows but sparsely at present, will spread a cloak of beautiful bright green over the red earth.

"*Hi!*" shouts the syce, breaking in upon a reverie of green fields and golden blossoms. "*Hi!* you with the basket." "*Hi!* umbrella. *Hi!* grass." This curious style of address is evidently understood by the various owners of the articles mentioned, for they remove themselves from the middle of the road to the side in an aggravatingly deliberate manner. *Hi! gharriwan!* Go your own side?" but the string of carts in front of us crawl along as before—some on the right side, some on the left.

"Go to the side?" shouts P. F., and the last man on the last cart slowly turns his head, and, seeing us close behind him, gives a sudden dig to one bullock, twists the tail of the others, and turns his cart right across the road in the laudable desire to get to the wrong side of it. We have passed the end of it, and escape the wheel of the next one by a hair's breath. While I am speculating as to what verdict a jury (of the country) would bring in, if we came to grief through the gross carelessness of a miserable *gharriwan*, a new danger suddenly appears a few yards ahead of us. "Look out," says P. F., as he tries to persuade The Slogger to go gently. "Sit tight?" We sit tight, and the trap goes over a ridge in the road that is high enough to test the strength of the springs tolerably severely. The amiable rayat has a trick of carrying water across the road to irrigate his lands, by means of a gutter dug directly across. Sometimes he is good enough to cover the drain; but when he does, he displays an excess of zeal, and raises a ridge over it that threatens to break the springs of any ordinary trap, and bump the occupants half a foot into the air. But what can be expected from a man who has no springs to his own carriage and pair? If his conveyance happens to stick at a ridge, he digs his stick into one bullock, kicks the other, and bumps over it without caring for consequences. A gutter that is left open is a still greater nuisance than the covered one, and half a mile further on we see one before us. There is no avoiding it: "Gently, Slogger, gently?" Slogger may take it never so gently, but the jolt is enough to dislocate every joint in our bodies, and we

make some very uncomplimentary remarks about the amiable rayat.

There are plenty of the species about at this time of the year. The crops require weeding, and the work of irrigation goes on more or less all day, although the afternoon is the time selected by the wise man for distributing the water over the carefully prepared surface of his land. *Creak, crake.* goes the simple apparatus by which water is drawn from the wells—*creak, crake*; the bullocks trot down the steep incline that has been made for the purpose, and a large skin, full of water, makes its appearance above the level of the well, and is emptied into the main gutter, which, leading into many smaller gutters, conveys it to the crops. Sometimes the water is allowed to flow into a natural reservoir formed by a dip in the ground, and thence it is distributed over a very confined area by means of a large basket-work shovel. Where but in this land of expedients, would such a sight be seen, in the nineteenth century, as men irrigating their land by flinging water broadcast from a shallow pool by means of a shovel-shaped basket? A small company of paddy-birds stand expectantly by, in hopes of securing a few small fish for their breakfast. The rough wooden wheel that acts as a pulley for the rope by which the water is drawn from the well, gives forth an appalling sound; the bullocks slowly creep up the incline; the big skin bag descends into the well and fills. Then the bullocks turn and run down the incline; the wheel again utters fearful sounds; the rope passes over it, and the big bag of water is slowly drawn up, pulled to one side, and the water poured out. Truly a primitive mode of irrigation for this country that boasts a National Congress. How long will it be before a patent pump replaces the rough pulley and bullocks, or the long bamboo with a huge dab of mud on the end of it, that serves the same purpose."

"Look!" says P. F.,—and we look. A ruffian of the tribe of *fakirs* is passing by. His tangled mass of hair is dyed red; his body, and the scanty rag that constitutes his clothing, are covered with ashes. But this repulsive looking object is not what has attracted P. F.'s attention. He is followed by a small boy, evidently a disciple of the noble *fakir*. The small boy's body is clothed in nature's every-day garment, plentifully besmeared with ashes. He looks a sharp young sprig of eight or ten years of age. His eyes peep out inquisitively from a small ash-covered visage. An *æsthetic* would probably describe his mouth, as a red splash, edged with pearls, on an ash-colored ground; but it is merely a red gap, with lips drawn out into a grin of intense satisfaction, showing a set of fine white teeth. The cause of his satisfaction is evident; for he looks from us

to his feet, and struts along very proudly. Lo ! has he not reason to walk proudly ? his feet are clothed, though his body is not and very magnificently clothed, too, in a pair of brand new patent leather Oxford shoes. We were silent, after passing this interesting couple ; that boy is too much for us.

A gleam of white under the shade of a large mango tree marks where our tents have been pitched ; and, as we drive up, doggie rushes frantically out to greet us. The cloth is laid for breakfast, and an appetizing sound of frizzling and frying from the cookhouse fire bears evidence of a savory dish being in course of preparation. What a wonderfully ingenious contrivance that cookhouse fireplace is ? A few holes dug in the ground, with three straight sides, and one sloped ; an iron grating mudded in over each hole, and a mud wall, a few inches high, raised all round the grating, to rest the kettles and pans on, and the cook is perfectly content ; the finest kerosene stove in the world would not please him half so well. The sloped side allows the draught to get into the holes, and the charcoal on the iron grating burns clear and bright. When we move our camp, the mud walls will be broken down and the iron grating taken out, to be mudded up again at the next halting-place. What sort of breakfast could an English cook serve up from such a stove ? It is lucky there is no globe-trotter present, to see what a good meal our native cook can send to the table, as he would assuredly publish a glowing account of the luxury of Anglo-Indian life. The fact that good meat and vegetables are obtainable only in the cold weather—that is to say, for about three months out of twelve—would not impress itself upon him, but a twelve miles drive in a delightfully cold morning would add greatly to the flavor of the good things set before him. With good roads and easy communications, fresh provisions can be sent out from headquarters to any part of Behar during the three months from the middle of November to the middle of February. Before and after that time travellers fare very differently. Meat will not stand a journey even in the end of February, unless packed in ice. Butter turns to oil, and vegetables are becoming very scarce. Therefore let us enjoy the good things of life while we may, and partake thankfully of the feast prepared for us.

Breakfast over, is it not pleasant to sit idly under the trees, reclining, or talking, as the spirit moves ? It is delightfully cool still, though the sun is warm ; the foliage of the mango trees throws a deep shade, through which gleams of sunshine fall softly on the clean swept ground. The camp is very quiet ; the servants are enjoying the rest they have earned ; and the tinkling of the bullock's bells is too far off to be disturbing. What an opportunity for dreaming—not the dreams

of sleep, over which we have no control, but beautiful day-dreams, in which the whole scene changes. The tents, the tall grasses fringing the road and waving gently in the breeze, the tired bullocks resting beside the empty carts, the horses quietly munching their grass—all grow dim and fade away. The mango tope becomes an English wood, where we have spent many a happy summer's day, and

"Where the drooping boughs between
Shadow dark and sunlight sheen
Alternate come and go."

Is it the "green trees whispering soft and low"? or do I hear the sound of children's laughter rippling softly in the still air? Little feet pattering about among the wood anemones; long-limbed boys reaching down the straggling branches for the girls to pick the blackberries.

The vision has gone. The graceful trees are only sturdy mango trees. Again the tall, silver-grey grasses are waving where the blackberry bushes were, and, instead of children's laughter and chatter, a discordant cry of *Babu! Babu!* grates harshly on my ears. A poor miserable cripple has crawled to the edge of the camping-ground and is raising her monotonous cry with the regularity of a machine. We bribe her to silence, and she crawls away; but our day-dreams have fled, and we rouse ourselves to begin the work of the day. Charity is very praiseworthy, no doubt, but has its disadvantages, and it is generally advisable to restrain one's desire to indulge in it until on the eve of departure for a fresh camping-ground. Ten minutes after the departure of the first beggar, another came, and then another and another. One woman was so afraid she would be late for her share of our bounty, that she forgot she was lame until within a short distance of her new found "*Ma bap*;" then, after dragging herself painfully along for a few yards, she flopped down on the ground and favored us with a specimen of beggar eloquence. Shall I confess that we hardened our hearts and had her removed to a distance. She went away, and again forgot her lameness in her anxiety to seek a more profitable place.

Then silence settles on the camp once more, until the tall shadows of the trees grow taller, and the sunbeams flicker with a fading light. Then the camp awakes, the syces busy themselves about the horses, the servants steal sleepily out of their resting-places, and the sound of tea-cups, clattering on the table, suggests that it is time for Tea. When is a cup of tea not welcome? We enjoy it in the early morning, whether the thermometer is at 60 or at 90°; in the scorching days of April and May; in the damp and enervating misery of the rains, it acts as a reviver of sinking nature, and may be con-

sidered as one of the necessities of life. Now, in the cool December afternoon, with quivering flecks of pale sunshine dancing on the white cloth, and a flood of rosy light spreading faintly upwards from the sinking sun, softening the defects of the landscape and rousing the busy *minahs* to a perfect rapture of excitement, tea is a luxury.

"I think," says P. F. contentedly, "this is not at all bad ; but I should enjoy it more if there were no big black ants about."

In spite of the ants we enjoy it ; before our third cup is finished, the rosy light has vanished, the last flicker of sunshine has passed away, and a chill shadow creeps over us.

How cosy it is inside the tent with the *pardahs* down and the lamps lit. The cold creeps through the walls of our "Calico room" by degrees ; there are no draughts to trouble us, and with a box of new books and a comfortable chair each, we find the evenings none too long. Camp life is certainly pleasanter for two or three, than for one alone. A game of Chess or Backgammon, Ecarté, or even Reverse, helps to pass an idle hour—if there is one ; and a solitary dinner certainly is apt to have a depressing effect on the diner. By ten o'clock the cold begins to assert itself, and the idea of getting under the blankets suggests pleasant reflections on the subject of early hours. Strange to say our ideas on that subject undergo a change during the night, and we do not feel very keen on getting up early in the morning. Imperceptibly as the cold creeps through the walls of the tent, it is in full possession in the morning, and the water in the *gumlas* is cold enough to remind us of the bitter mornings in the old country, when our small fingers were numbed, but not always cleansed, by a hasty wash in a basin of cruelly cold water.

Outside, the servants are shuffling about with rounded shoulders and clasped hands, shivering and miserable. The cold has no charms for them, and the Behari does not understand how much he has to thank his native climate for making him so much healthier and stiffer than his less fortunate neighbour, the Bengali. Until the sun shines out and warms them up, the camp-followers are numb and wretched, unless they bustle about and take something to warm them. A merciful man is merciful to his beast, and a few ounces of tea have a wonderfully good effect on the servants. They appreciate a cup of hot tea in the early morning as much as we do, and attribute manifold virtues to the fragrant beverage. A small supply of good, strong flavored tea tends to keep the camp establishment contented, and a contented establishment adds very considerably to the pleasure of camping.

A halting-day is a day of rest for man and beast. We finish our *chota hazree* at our leisure, and start for a journey of

inspection round the camp. The horses greet us with low whinnies of welcome, and the syces make a great show of being busily employed in attending to their comforts. It is bad for the syce whose horse has no grass, or insufficient bedding, and it is always necessary to look after the creature comforts of one's animal very closely. The temptation to shirk their work is great at all times to those laziest and most troublesome of under-servants, the grass-cutters, but in camp they appear to consider it a hardship that the horses should require grass at all. The day of rest is often a day of trial to the honest syce, whose feelings are hurt by the suspicion implied in a too close inspection of the stable arrangements. It is—in his eyes—a mean proceeding to look into the buckets, and ask to see the grass provided for animals that are in his charge. But it is impossible to please everyone, and The Slogger shows visible signs of improvement in condition and capacity for work, when his master occasionally looks into his bucket, and insists on his bundle of grass being carried past for inspection every day.

Near the horses, some cows of a very diminutive race are tied up, waiting to be milked. They are hardly larger than donkeys, and so thin and poor that, when one seer of milk is produced for our inspection as the joint product of three animals, we are surprised—not at the smallness of the quantity, but that they have given any at all. When will the rayat begin to grasp the idea that it is as easy to rear good cows as bad ones, and that good ones are much more profitable? A little trouble would produce great results in improving the quality of the country-bred cows. In some villages in Behar fine, straight backed cows are often seen, the descendants of English cattle imported many years ago. But they are the property of well-to-do traders, or zemindars, who take no trouble to perpetuate the breed. The village cattle suffer severely from want of fodder in the dry season. Even at this time of the year there is hardly a blade of grass to be seen, and how can they exist throughout the whole of the cold and the dry season? A certain amount of fodder is provided for them, as the leaves and stalks of various kinds of *dhal* are dried and stored for them; but there is little or no nourishment in this description of fodder. Silos would answer well in such a dry soil as that of Behar, and provide the cattle with ample and nourishing food all the year round; but I have not heard of any enterprising zemindar who has as yet attempted to introduce them.

When only one seer of milk can be obtained from three cows, the owner of the cows is not to be trusted. He will assuredly water the milk, unless closely watched; even in the places where milk is more plentiful, and the cows yield the average amount of from one to two seers each, it is never safe to use the milk

unless the cows are milked in the camp. "Death in the milk-pails" is a fatal fact in India, where any filthy pool is resorted to, in lieu of the cow with the iron tail.

"What have you got in these baskets?" I ask, as the cook brings two curiously-shaped baskets from the tent that serves as a cookhouse. There is a small round pole, with a cover well tied down on the top of each basket, which is very broad and low, and made of closely-woven bamboo. The cook lifts the cover cautiously and drops in some grain, and we peep in. "Quail!"—"Ji, há!" Yes, it is quail, fifty or sixty of them in each basket. Poor little prisoners, how miserable they must be! "Why do you buy so many at once? they will all die."

"If they get food, they will not die, unless they are kept in the light. If they are not kept in the dark, they kill each other, they fight very much," the cook explains.

He proceeds to put in a small tin of water, and some more grain, and, peeping at them cautiously through the small opening at the top, I see the pretty little prisoners pecking away at the grain quite busily. Nevertheless it is cruel to keep them shut up in baskets, and I should enjoy my breakfast more if I had not seen them.

A drive, ride, or walk is one of the occupations of a halting-morning, and we start off as a matter of course, although there is little to be seen. The country is not very interesting. A dead level, covered with young crops a few inches high, with wide stretches of land divided into neat squares, like so much brown toffee. P. F. explains that the neat squares will hereafter be covered with poppy plants. The groups of trees are of a uniform shade of green at present, and there is none of the variety of foliage that at other seasons charms the eye. A few weeks later and some of the trees will be dressed in new garments of delicate green, and various beautiful shades and tints will appear on others. The crops will cover the low bare ground and make the landscape somewhat more attractive. At present the only objects of interest we can see, are the birds and the passers by. The former are not numerous. King crows, seven sisters, and a few *minahs*, are generally to be seen, and occasionally a Griff's pheasant and a beefsteak bird. But there are plenty of passers by. The men trudging along, wrapped up in a variety of cloths, while the women shiver in their cotton garments, that flutter in the cold wind.

The halting-day is over, and we have a journey of twelve miles to our next camping-ground. The scene that meets our eyes, as we leave our tents early on the morning of a marching-day, is very different from that which meets them on a halting-day. Our tent is already down, and everyone is bustling about, packing up the innumerable etceteras that hamper our move-

ments, but add to our comfort. When there is a good deal of camping to be done, it is just as well to do it comfortably as uncomfortably. A man's work certainly stands a better chance of being satisfactorily performed if his camping arrangements admit of his doing it comfortably. Therefore our array of camp gear looks somewhat formidable when accumulated in front of the tents. After the first few moves, the men begin to settle down to the work, and each one knows what he is to do, and which cart to place the various packages on. But the loading of the carts cannot be accomplished in a hurry. The awkward shape of a country cart necessitates very careful adjustment of the load. Tables and chairs do not fit into their places very happily, and if there are any live stock in the shape of goats or kids to be provided with accommodation, it is a little awkward. But everything is stored away at last, and the cavalcade moves slowly off. Twelve miles is quite enough for a day's march, when tents have to be pulled down and repitched. The bullock carts travel at the rate of two miles an hour only.

Having resettled ourselves for one day at least, we enjoy an hour of unadulterated *dolce far niente* and watch the tents being repitched. A faint buzzing sound, that has been growing in depth and volume for some time, attracts our attention, and, curiosity overcoming laziness, we rouse ourselves to find out where it comes from.

"This is *hât* day" (market day), explains the Chowkidar of the Bungalow, near which our tents are being pitched, "in the village close by, and everything is being sold."

"Then let us go and see everything that is sold."

Ten minutes' walk brings us so near the uproar that we feel doubtful of the wisdom of venturing into it; not that the noise of many voices would hurt us, but contact with the many owners of the voices might be unpleasant. However, the curiosity that brought us thus far must be answerable for taking us further, and we feel reassured as we see two *Red-puggr-wallahs* on the outskirts of the crowd. Under their guidance, we venture boldly into the seething mass of humanity before us. Crowds of natives from the neighbouring villages are pushing their way through the groups of sellers, all of whom are seated on the ground. There are no stalls or booths. As each vendor arrives, he or she selects an unoccupied spot, and sitting down, they proceed to arrange their wares in front of them. These wares consist of a few baskets of grain of various kinds; potatoes, the size of marbles; bunches of vegetable and herbs; baskets full of glass bangles; lumps of rock salt, and here and there a collection of things that look very comical in the midst of such surroundings,—small looking-glasses, boxes of shoe-

blackening, matches, reels of cotton, odds and ends of dress buttons, a packet of cocoa, a bottle of scent, and a bar of yellow soap! The latter articles remain unpurchased, although they are badly required by the general public.

A broad faced, good tempered looking woman is driving a brisk trade in native remedies. In front of her are ranged dozens of small open-mouthed bags, baskets, and packets, each containing a small quantity of some popular drug, or herb. She is no vendor of quack medicines, prepared according to her own receipts and foisted on her fellow creatures; the simple remedies she sells are genuine and very curiously assorted. Besides a number of roots and herbs, which she probably collected and dried herself, and each of which is supposed to possess some special virtue, we see many familiar drugs and spices. One of the largest bags is full of large, coarse senna leaves—there is no mistaking that *bête noir* of our childhood,—and I quite expect to see some Gregory's powder next to it; indigo, sulphur, antimony, verdigris, alum, ginger, long pepper, round pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and many other spices and powders that are quite new to me.

"What is this?" I ask, being afflicted with a spirit of curiosity that troubles me at all times and places, "and what is this and this?"

"That is a fever medicine," replies the broad faced woman, laughing and showing off her wares with great delight, "and this is a cold medicine, and this a hot medicine, and this is one for making men well, and this cures cows."

Happy woman! Has she not a cure for every ailment under the sun? Her face is a good recommendation; it is the brightest and healthiest in the *hât*. She has a word and a laugh for everyone, and her cheery voice and face is in strong contrast to all the worn, hard ones around her. There are very few soft, even among the faces of the younger women; and, as usual, there are many more old than young. Look at those two, selling glass bracelets. They neither smile nor joke, as they fit the unyielding ornaments over the hard hands of the purchasers. The bracelet is forced over the knuckles, and three out of four break in the process.

"There is nothing more," says the *Red-puggri-wallah*, and I think he is right, there is nothing more. Let us leave the people to sell and buy, to talk at the top of their voices, to sit about promiscuously, and shove each other hither and thither; let us get away from the dirty, noisy crowd, and return to the peaceful shade of our mango tope.

When our three weeks' camping is over, we wonder how the time has passed, and regret that the end has come.

ESME'.

THE QUARTER.

THOUGH, owing to the isolated position of Manipur, the political importance of the disaster of the 24th March last is comparatively slight, nothing that has happened in India since the Mutiny of 1857 has stirred the public mind quite so deeply, or produced so painful an impression upon it.

The details of the tragedy are so fresh in the memories of the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, that we shall make no attempt to re-tell the melancholy story, but confine ourselves to a critical examination of the more salient of the questions raised by it.

The Manipur catastrophe raises primarily two distinct questions. Was the policy of the Government of India in the matter a right and proper policy? Were the means adopted to carry it into effect right and appropriate means? Then, should either of these questions be answered in the negative, there comes the subsidiary question of responsibility.

In considering the first of these questions, we must guard against any bias that might be created by the terrible eventualities which arose from the attempt to carry out the policy of the Government. The mere fact of a particular policy ending in failure, however disastrous, is, in itself, no proof that it is a wrong policy. If a policy contains within itself the seeds of inevitable failure, or if it involves risks obviously disproportionate to the object in view, then it is a wrong policy, no matter how excellent its object may be. It would thus be a wrong policy for a weak Power like Portugal, in no matter how just a cause, to make war, single-handed, against a strong Power like England; for the disparity would stamp the enterprise as essentially hopeless from the first. But the recent policy of the Government of India in respect of Manipur was obnoxious to no such patent objection as this. Good or bad, it was beyond question, in the power of the Government not merely to carry that policy to a successful issue, but to execute it in so masterful a way as, probably, to have prevented all serious opposition.

The right of the Government of India to interfere in the domestic concerns of Manipur having been disputed on the ground that it was an independent State, it will be convenient, *in limine*, to dispose of the question of the political status of the country. At the same time, it should be premised that

this question, so far as it concerns the subject of our enquiry, is one of fact alone, and not of right. If, when the rebellion of September last occurred, Manipur was *de facto* subordinate to the Government of India, then the question of its position *de jure* may be dismissed, as one of purely academic interest, and not of practical politics.

Now it seems abundantly clear, from the Despatch of the Court of Directors of the late Honourable East India Company of the 15th May 1852, taken together with the subsequent course of events, that, while, up to that time, the Government of India had treated Manipur as an independent State, they, shortly thereafter, as a consequence of their undertaking to uphold the authority of Kirtee Chandra Singh, the then Rajah, successfully asserted a right of control over its administration which practically converted it into a dependent State.

The Despatch referred to runs :—

“You have made a very material alteration in our relations with Manipur. Influenced by a desire to put an end to frequent attempts by the exiled members of the Rajah’s family to effect a change of Government, you have authorized the Political Agent to make a public avowal of the determination of the British Government to uphold the present Rajah, and to resist and punish any parties attempting hereafter to dispossess him. Considering the very unfavourable reports of the Rajah’s administration hitherto given by Captain McCulloch, we feel considerable doubt of the propriety of your having bound yourselves to his support. The position, however, which you have thus assumed of pledged protectors of the Rajah, imposes on you, as a necessary consequence, the obligation not only of attempting to guide him by your advice, but, if needful, of protecting his subjects against oppression on his part; otherwise our guarantee of his rule may be the cause of inflicting on them a continuance of reckless tyranny. The obligation thus incurred may be found embarrassing, but it must, nevertheless, be fulfilled, and while needless interference is, of course, to be avoided, we shall expect that, as the price of the protection afforded him, the Rajah will submit to our maintaining a sufficient check over the general conduct of his administration, so as to prevent it from being oppressive to the people and discreditable to the Government which gives its support.”

The subsequent course of events leaves no room for reasonable doubt that the instructions contained in this Despatch were actually carried into effect; and, in the absence of proof to the contrary, the Rajah must be held to have assented to the position thus created.

If we had to consider the case as one of right, it might be a knotty question whether the undertaking to uphold Rajah Kirtee Chandra Singh was not of a purely personal character, so that it would have expired at his death, for it certainly contains no mention of his successors. There is nothing, however, to show that the death of Kirtee Chandra Singh was actually followed by any change in the relations between the Government of

India and the Manipur Darbar, and, even if there were only this negative evidence to go upon, it would be reasonable to assume that Sura Chandra, the ex-Maharajah, succeeded to the gaddi on the same terms as those on which his father had occupied it from 1852 to the time of his death. But, there is something more than this to go upon. There is a positive acknowledgment on the part of the ex-Rajah that he ruled his State under the protection of the British Government.

This being the case, two consequences inevitably follow : 1st, that, in the absence of sufficient cause to the contrary, the Government of India was bound to uphold the authority of Sura Chandra, and 2nd, that the action of the late Senapati, Tikendrajit, and his followers, in resorting to force to subvert his authority, was virtually rebellion against the British Government. The right of the Government of India to interfere, whether for the purpose of reinstating Sura Chandra on the gaddi, or for that of punishing Tekendrajit, is, therefore, indisputable.

The Government did not think fit to interfere to restore Sura Chandra ; but they did interfere to punish Tekendrajit, by deporting him from Manipur ; and the question is, whether this was a just and proper policy.

It has been challenged on two grounds. On the one hand, it has been urged that the Government ought to have reinstated Sura Chandra. On the other, it has been argued that, having decided not to adopt that course, but to recognize the late *de facto* Rajah, they ought not to have punished, or, at all events, they ought not to have deported, Tekendrajit, who had headed the rebellion which placed him on the gaddi.

As to the first point, it is evident from the official correspondence that has been published, that the Government not only gave full consideration to the claims of Sura Chandra to reinstatement, but were favourably disposed towards him, and that it was only owing to the strong representations of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and the Resident at Manipur, that they finally decided against him, on the ground that he was constitutionally weak and incapable.

It may be that the views of the local authorities regarding Sura Chandra's capacity and conduct were erroneous, and that an independent enquiry on the spot would have led to a different conclusion. But, unless it can be shown that the Government of India were in possession of facts which would have warranted them in distrusting Mr Quinton's judgment in the matter, they can hardly be blamed for having been guided by what they would justly regard as the best advice available on the subject. We say nothing of the act of abdication performed

by Sura Chandra, or of the opinion of the Chief Commissioner that his reinstatement would be strongly opposed by the Manipuris; for there can be no question that the abdication was virtually extorted by violence; while, had Sura Chandra been fairly entitled to reinstatement, no fear of opposition would have justified the Government in refusing to fulfil their obligation to reinstate him. The allegation of Sura Chandra's hopeless incapacity, it may be added, finds a certain amount of confirmation in his abject conduct during, and immediately subsequent to, the *emeute* of last year.

As to the contention, that the determination of the Government to recognize the *de facto* Maharajah implied any sort of obligation on their part to abstain from interfering with Tekendrajit, it is difficult to see on what principle of logic, ethics, or politics, it is founded. Rebellion is none the less rebellion because the state of things which it creates is preferable, in some respects, or in every respect, to that which it replaces. In the present case, the authors of the rebellion are not even entitled to the benefit of the plea that it was a last resource. For, even if the rule of Sura Chandra was so intolerably bad as to necessitate his deposition, the alternative of an appeal to the paramount Power was open to them.

The only question that can arise is, whether there was anything in the past conduct of Tekendrajit which ought to have induced the Government to condone his offence, or whether, from condoning it, any political advantage was likely to arise in the future, of sufficient importance to outweigh the inconvenience and danger of the precedent that would have been created, by allowing an act of grave rebellion and usurpation of the authority of the British Government to go unpunished.

As to the past conduct of the man, so far from there being anything in it to entitle him to special consideration, he had acquired an unenviable reputation for turbulence, and had only recently been convicted of an act of savage cruelty. With regard to the other point, it has been urged that he was the only capable man in the State; that the stability of the new *régime* depended upon his support, and that the proper course would have been for the Government to use such a man, rather than to banish him. But, even if such a course would have been consistent with the dignity of the Government, which, we maintain, it would not, it is not at all certain that it would have succeeded. Certain it is that any punishment short of banishment would have been worse than none at all.

On the whole, then, we are inclined to think, not only that the Government was perfectly justified in determining to remove the Senapati, but that it exercised a wise discretion in doing so. At least, we think, every candid critic who con-

siders the question in all its aspects, will admit that, if the decision of the Government was a mistaken one, the reasons which made it so were not so obvious, that it can be seriously blamed for having failed to see them.

Were the means adopted to carry out the policy of the Government of India, right and appropriate means? Reserving, for the present, the ethical question that has been raised in connexion with the resolution of the Chief Commissioner to arrest the Senapati in Darbar in the event of his not surrendering, let us consider how far the arrangements made for enforcing the decision of the Government were such as, under all the circumstances of the case, might reasonably have been regarded as adequate for the purpose.

It is, perhaps, open to discussion whether the Government did not act with undue precipitancy in sending a representative with an armed force into Manipur, in order to be in a position to deal immediately with a contingency which might not occur, and which, if it should occur, could be effectively dealt with at leisure.

The decision of the Government, it will be remembered, was that the *de facto* Maharajah should be recognized, and the Senapati deported; and, as the right which it exercised over the State was that of controlling the administration of the Maharajah, and not, except as a last resource, of superseding his authority, it might seem that its natural and proper course was to announce its decision to the Maharajah, and require him to carry it into effect, and that it would have been time enough to have recourse to ulterior measures, on its becoming evident that he either would not, or could not, comply with its requisition.

It may be that the Government knew enough of the state of affairs in Manipur to be convinced that there was little or no chance of its decision being executed without, at least, a display of force; and such an estimate of the probabilities of the case would certainly not have been unreasonable. On the other hand, it is not obvious why it should have been considered an object of supreme importance, that the orders of the Government should be announced and executed in the same breath; and, if the object was to minimize the chance of resistance, all that can be said is that, in such a case, hasty action was at least as likely to precipitate resistance as to prevent it.

But, not to press this point, as to which there may have been strong arguments on both sides, let us turn to the question of the adequacy of the military arrangements themselves.

That the force placed at the disposal of the late Mr. Quinton, which consisted of 400 Ghurka Rifles, or, including the Residency Guard, 500, was numerically altogether inadequate to the task it was ultimately called upon to perform, and that

its numerical inadequacy was immensely aggravated by the insufficiency of its supply of small arms ammunition and the absence of guns, is shown conclusively by the event. But the question is, whether those responsible for the composition and armament of the force ought to have known that it was insufficient.

This question seems to us to admit of but one answer ; inasmuch as the facts which stamped the force as insufficient, either were, or ought to have been, well known to all the responsible authorities, from the Government of India down to Colonel Skene.

The probability of opposition was fully understood, and formed the subject of consultation between the Chief Commissioner and the General Commanding in Assam. It was well known that the person to be arrested had at his disposal the entire military resources of the State. The strength of those resources was well known. Especially, the important fact, that the Senapati possessed guns was known. The extent of the Pat, or palace enclosure at Manipur, together with its topography and its facilities for defence, were, or ought to have been well known. It ought to have been foreseen that, if it came to blows, the enemy, unless surprised, would in all probability elect to fight behind walls, and that, consequently, it was highly probable that it would be necessary to force an entry into the Pat, to carry on a difficult struggle amidst a labyrinth of streets and lanes, and finally to assault masonry buildings of considerable strength.

Such were the contingencies for which the force had to be prepared ; yet they set out on their task with only forty rounds of ammunition in their pouches, and none in reserve ; without guns ; without scaling ladders ; and apparently with light hearts. This was the first stage in the long chapter of blunders.

We do not know enough of the circumstances to be able to say whether the plan decided on by Mr. Quinton, after full deliberation, and apparently as the result of a consultation between himself, Colonel Skene and Mr. Grimwood—the latter dissenting,—of arresting the Senapati in a Durbar to which he was to be summoned to hear the orders of the Government, was the most hopeful plan that could have been adopted for the purpose of carrying out the instructions of the Government, not to give the Senapati the opportunity of forcibly resisting.

A more hopeful plan might possibly have been to arrest the Senapati when he met the Chief Commissioner on the road with two regiments, which would probably have offered no serious resistance in the open. But Mr. Quinton may not have been prepared for this opportunity, or there may have been insuperable political objections to his availing himself of it at a

time when the orders of the Government had not been formally announced. As to the possibility of other plans for the purpose, all we know is that Mr. Grimwood had declared himself unable to suggest any.

While, again, it will probably seem to most people that, when Mr. Quinton found that the Senapati failed to attend the first Darbar, he might reasonably have concluded that all chance of surprising him, or inducing him to submit, was at an end ; and that, if he was still determined, in the last resort, to employ force to arrest him, the sooner the attempt had been made, the more likely it would have been to succeed, we do not know enough of the circumstances to justify us in condemning him for deferring the attempt in the hope that the Senapati might still be induced to surrender.

What we do know is that, when, on the afternoon of the 23rd March, the fact was at last realized that the choice lay between deferring the execution of the Government programme to a more convenient season, and carrying off the Senapati from within the Pat *vi et armis*, all the contingencies which, as we have just said, the force ought to have been prepared to deal with in the last resort, but which it was wholly unprepared to deal with, had become certainties. It was then positively known that the Pat swarmed with armed men, and that ammunition had been served out, the gates closed, the walls manned, and every preparation made for a determined resistance.

Nothing, surely, but a conviction that there was no other means of saving our force and the Europeans in Manipur from imminent destruction, could have justified Colonel Skene in assuming the offensive under such circumstances. So far, however, from there being any ground for such a conviction, it might have been confidently anticipated that, had the force retired to a suitable position and remained on the defensive till reinforced, or withdrawn, the Manipuris would not have ventured to leave the shelter of their walls to attack it. Yet in the absence of any such necessity, or of any object that could for a moment be compared with the desperate risk incurred, it was decided to force an entry into the Palace enclosure with 250 men and arrest the Senapati in the midst of his army. This was the second cardinal blunder committed.

Into the details of the contest that followed within the enclosure, we need not enter. Enough to say that, after capturing the Senapati's house, only to discover that he was not there, but in the Regent's palace, to attack which was recognized as hopeless, the force, finding its ammunition running short, was compelled to retreat to the Residency to save itself from certain annihilation.

Things had now clearly reached a stage when all further

action should have been guided by purely military considerations. The Residency, being almost within point blank range of the enemy's guns, which were now brought to bear upon it from behind embrasures in the walls of the enclosure, and being wholly incapable of withstanding the effects of artillery fire, was admittedly quite untenable. On the other hand, almost any place beyond cannon range from the palace walls, provided only it did not afford unassailable cover for the Manipuris, would have been easily tenable against an enemy incapable of fighting with effect in the open. Yet, instead of promptly evacuating the Residency and retiring to such a defensible position, it was decided to remain there, to be shot at and shelled, without any opportunity of returning the enemy's fire, and though our men had only a few rounds of ammunition left. Here was the third cardinal blunder.

It appears to have been about 4 P. M. when the whole of the force collected again within the Residency, which had been subjected to a more or less severe musketry fire from a much earlier hour. From 2 P. M. the enemy had brought two of their guns, the gift of the British Government, to play on it; and, as evening wore on, the upper part of the building became riddled with shells, and an incessant fire of musketry was poured in upon its defenders.

By 7 P. M., when the ammunition of the men was reduced to its lowest ebb, and retreat had become an infinitely more hazardous operation than it would have been three hours before, it dawned at last upon some one, that the further retention of the position meant the certain destruction of the whole party, and the question of retiring to the open was discussed.

Then another fatal and inexcusable blunder was committed. At the instance, it is said, of Mr. Quinton, it was resolved to ask the triumphant enemy for terms! A letter was accordingly written to the Regent, who, in reply, promised to order the firing to cease, only on condition that our troops threw down their arms.

Presently, however, a messenger came over from the Senapati, with a request that the Chief Commissioner would come and hold an interview with him outside the walls of the enclosure; and then was committed the greatest blunder of all. The Chief Commissioner, accompanied by Colonel Skene, Mr. Grimwood, Mr. Cossins and Lieutenant Simpson, went, entirely unarmed and unescorted, to the main gate of the fort, and eventually, after a long parley, entered the palace enclosure with the result which we all know.

It remains to consider the question of responsibility.

For the political programme decided on, it can hardly be

questioned, the Supreme Government was exclusively responsible. It would have been so technically in any case. But it is quite clear, from the published correspondence, that, as far as the question of the treatment of the Senapati is concerned—and this is the main point to be considered,—it acted entirely on its own judgment, in opposition to the opinion of Mr. Grimwood, and with only the half-hearted acquiescence of the Chief Commissioner.

As to the numbers and composition of the force employed, and the absence of artillery from its equipment, the primary responsibility rests with the General Commanding in Assam; but the inadequacy of the force was so palpable, the blunder of sending it without guns was so glaring, and the occasion was so important, that it is impossible to acquit the Government of India of the ultimate responsibility, except on the wholly untenable assumption, that its duty in such matters is finally discharged when it has referred them to the General Commanding a district.

As regards the insufficiency of the small arms ammunition taken by the escort, an attempt has been made to fix the entire responsibility on Colonel Skene, by showing that he was given a free hand. The escort, it appears, was, in the first instance, ordered to take 40 rounds in pouch and 50 in box; but subsequently General Collett, being given to understand that there were 13,000 rounds at Manipur, countermanded the ammunition in box. Afterwards, for reasons which are not explained, he appears to have become anxious on the subject, and wired Colonel Skene to use his discretion in drawing for a further supply upon a large store of ammunition at Kohima. This is called giving Colonel Skene a free hand. The matter, however, was one in which General Collett should not have given Colonel Skene a free hand. Colonel Skene, for reasons which do not appear to be known, but which, it is faintly suggested, may have been scarcity of transport, did not take any reserve ammunition from Kohima. The heaviest part of the responsibility rests, no doubt, with Colonel Skene; for scarcity of transport was a wholly inadequate excuse. But we cannot agree with the Commander-in-Chief, that General Collett "took every precaution which the circumstances seemed to demand."

For the desperate plan of attacking the Senapati in the Pat at Manipur, Colonel Skene, and Colonel Skene alone, must be held responsible; and the same must be said of the retreat to the Residency and the retention of that position for several hours, when any one with the slightest military insight must have seen that it was untenable from the first, and that every cartridge fired in attempting to defend it, must bring the force sensibly nearer to a condition of utter helplessness.

The same, too, must be said of the extraordinary action of this officer in leaving his command, to accompany Mr. Quinton to the parley. He would have adopted a much more reasonable course had he told Mr. Quinton that the position had ceased to be, in any sense, a political one, and forbidden him to leave the Residency compound, otherwise than with the force, under pain of arrest.

That is what a strong man would have done; but then, with a strong man, matters would never have reached that stage, and, even had they done so, with a strong man, Mr. Quinton would never have persisted in advising a parley with the enemy.

There is something, however, to be said in extenuation of the blame attaching to the several Military authorities concerned, for the inadequacy of the force and its equipment. Though they knew, in a general way, that they might encounter resistance, and though they knew, or ought to have known, what the resources of the enemy were, they were dependent entirely on such information as they might receive from the Civil authorities for the means of estimating the kind and amount of resistance probable; and it seems, beyond doubt, that both the Government and Mr. Quinton himself entertained a wholly inadequate idea of the magnitude of the risk throughout.

The blame for this ignorance would appear to rest on the shoulders of Mr. Quinton, who, had he taken the Political Resident into his confidence, would probably have been fully enlightened on the subject, but who, for whatever reason, preferred keeping his own counsel and making his arrangements in the dark till it was too late.

As to the question of treachery, it seems to us that, when it is admitted, as we understand it to be admitted, that the object Mr. Quinton had in view in summoning the Senapati to the Darbar, with the intention of arresting him there, should he refuse to submit, was to deprive him of the opportunity of forcibly resisting, then it is virtually admitted that the plan was a treacherous plan, in the sense in which plain men understand treachery. If Mr. Quinton believed, or if he hoped, in whatever degree, that the plan would fulfil the object in view, then his belief, or his hope, great or small, presupposed a corresponding belief, or hope, that the call to the Darbar would create in the mind of the Senapati a sense of security which he (Mr. Quinton) knew to be illusory. If, on the other hand, he entertained no hope that the plan would succeed, then the holding of the Darbar, along with the elaborate preparations for the arrest of the Senapati there, was a mischievous farce, the only result of which must be to give the

Senapati so much time to complete his preparations for resistance.

It seems beyond question that the plan of the arrest originated with Mr. Quinton, and that it was not formed, or, at all events, not finally decided on by him till the 21st March, the day previous to his arrival at Manipur. Though it was part of the instructions of the Government of India to Mr. Quinton that he should endeavour to effect the arrest in such a way as to give the Senapati the least possible chance of forcibly resisting, this fact furnishes, in itself, no ground for holding them responsible for the plan actually adopted, or even for concluding that they contemplated recourse to any kind of deceit. At the same time, in estimating the degree of blame that can fairly be attached to Mr. Quinton in the matter, it is only just to remember that these were his instructions, and that, failing to hit upon any other means of fulfilling them, he may have felt that he had no discretion in the matter.

There are the strongest reasons for believing that Mr. Grimwood not only disapproved of the plan, but protested against it, and if the published correspondence contains all that passed between Mr. Quinton and the Government on the subject, the presumption is that it was not communicated to the latter.

We have dwelt on the principal issues raised by the Manipur disaster at such length that limits of space compel us to deal very briefly with other events of the Quarter.

The subsequent operations against Munipur have been chiefly remarkable for the heroic defence of the fort at Thokal by Lieutenant (since Major) Grant and his little band, and the complete collapse of all resistance and precipitate flight of the Darbar from Imphail on the approach of the combined forces. Regarding the trial of the Senapati and the other prisoners, we shall at present say nothing, except that we think it questionable whether a grave political blunder has not been committed in not showing more regard for the principles which govern the procedure in criminal trials generally under British rule.

The serious *emeute* which took place at Benares in the middle of April in consequence of the threatened destruction of a Hindu temple, in order to provide a site for a pumping station in connexion with the water-works there, shows how little education has yet done in India to diminish the danger of offending the religious susceptibilities of the mass of the people, or the ease with which they may be offended. The conduct of the mob, who, not satisfied with destroying an engine belonging to the department and part of the works in the neighbourhood of the temple, attacked and plundered the Telegraph office and Railway station and the house of a Hindu of position who

had taken a prominent part in advocating the appropriation of the site, was symptomatic of a strong feeling of hostility to authority, and admits of no palliation. At the same time, it must be confessed, the Municipal Commissioners showed throughout the business a lamentable want of judgment and consideration.

Seeing how dangerous a step it is to meddle with a temple, for however excellent a purpose, they ought, at whatever cost, to have avoided selecting a site occupied by such an edifice. It is true, they acted on what was very likely a correct belief, that the idol was of the moveable class. But idols which are moveable for those in charge of them, are apt to become rigidly fixed when any attempt is made *ab extero* to have them moved. Though, too, it is true that, when the riot occurred, the question had been re-opened by the Municipality, and no final decision had been come to, it should be remembered that in the meantime, they, or their subordinates, by interfering with the approaches to the temple and removing the steps, had unfortunately acted in a way eminently calculated to irritate the people.

The fact is, the system of local Self-Government, so called, and the additional taxation by which it is commonly accompanied, is extremely unpopular with the mass of the population; and widespread antipathy to the institution and its works, had probably a good deal to do with the formidable dimensions assumed by the disturbance.

The spirit of opposition to authority is contagious, and it seems not improbable that the *emeute* at Benares had something to do with the very serious riot which occurred on the 16th ultimo at Sham Bazar in Calcutta, and which arose from a similar cause, *viz.*, the threatened demolition of a place of worship, though under widely different circumstances. In this case the religious element was much more obviously of a factitious character than in that of the Benares riot. The building which formed the *teterrima causa*, a Muhammadan mosque, being a recent structure of the most trumpery kind, partaking rather of the character of a private prayer-house, erected by the tenant of the land for his own convenience, than of a public place of worship.

The occasion of the contemplated removal of this hut, which had probably been invested with its religious character with an eye to founding a claim to a right of permanent occupancy, was also of a private, and not a public character; the proprietor of the land, who had recently purchased it, seeking to oust the tenant who had erected the so-called mosque, and having obtained a decree of the Civil Court for the purpose,

In another noteworthy respect, the case differed from that at Benares, no overt steps having been taken by the decree-holder

to get possession of the mosque or even to hinder access to it. The armed mob that assembled, apparently did so in anticipation of an attempt being made to execute the decree, or possibly under some misapprehension as to what was intended. From their numbers, it is evident that they reckoned on having the police to contend against, and were determined to be equal to the occasion ; and it is significant that it was the mob who, on the approach of the police, assumed the offensive.

Probably only an infinitesimal fraction of those who took part in the affair had any real interest, even of a sentimental kind, in the subject of the dispute ; and the fact that one or two firebrands were able to get together an armed mob of some two thousand men to do their bidding, and defy the constituted authorities, possesses, under these circumstances, a most serious significance.

The terrible tragedy, which has very reasonably thrown the entire Parsee community of Bombay into a ferment of horrified excitement, is too completely shrouded in mystery to suggest a moral. The theories of murder and suicide seem almost equally beset with difficulties. The theory put forward by the Parsees, and endorsed by the Coroner's jury, will hardly commend itself to unbiased people. It seems more probable that, if murder was committed, it was planned beforehand and due to jealousy. The epithet said to have been shouted after the poor girls, on their way to the tower, by Manackjee Aslajee, would seem distinctly suggestive of hostility.

The proceedings of Parliament during the past three months have been unusually devoid of interest. The fair prospect with which the Government entered upon the business of the Session has been miserably blighted, no one exactly knows why, unless that a profound lethargy has taken possession of the Conservative Party. Though the Opposition in the House of Commons has been altogether contemptible, the obstructionists have been allowed to have very much their own way, and the House, since the Easter recess, has been almost entirely occupied in plodding through the clauses of the Irish Land Bill, which has only just been passed, though, with a moderate display of vigour, it might have been disposed of in a fortnight.

The Budget, which was introduced by Mr. Goschen on the 23rd April, was a remarkably tame production. The year 1890-91 closed with a surplus of £1,756,000, in the place of an estimated surplus of £233,000. The estimates for the current year showed an anticipated surplus of £1,990,000, of which £1,000,000 is to be devoted to free education, £500,000 to barracks, and £400,000 to the withdrawal of light gold from circulation.

On the 10th April, Sir Joseph Pease was allowed to snatch a ridiculous vote in favour of a Resolution condemning the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised, and urging the Government of India to cease granting licences for the cultivation of the poppy, and to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory. The motion was carried by a majority of 160 to 130, but was subsequently rendered abortive by Sir Joseph Pease consenting to the introduction, by way of a rider, of a Resolution in favour of England making good the resulting loss of revenue, on which it proved impossible, owing to the operation of the midnight rule, to take the sense of the House.

There have been an unusually large number of bye-elections during the Quarter, which, on the whole, have gone very badly for the Government.

A considerable sensation, and a great deal of very astonishing and unreasonable dissatisfaction has been caused by the decision of the High Court of Appeal in what is called the Clitheroe case, in which the Lord Chief Justice and two other judges held, that a husband cannot legally imprison his wife in order to compel her to cohabit with him, even though he may have obtained a decree of restitution of conjugal rights. The judgment, however, has had the effect of setting the intolerably anomalous state of the English Marriage and Divorce laws in a painfully glaring light.

In foreign affairs, the most important event is the conclusion of the long deferred Convention between England and Portugal regarding their African territories.

The obituary of the Quarter includes the names of Earl Granville ; Von Moltke ; Sir Madhava Rao ; Archbishop Magee ; the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia ; Barry Sullivan, the actor ; Edwin Long, the painter ; Gaspare Gorrisio, the eminent Sanskritist ; Thomas Hare ; Mdme. Blavatsky, and J. T. Barnum, the celebrated showman.

16th June 1891.

J. W. F.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Records of the Geological Survey of India. Vol. XXIV, Part I, 1891.

THE February number of the Geological Survey's Records contains Dr. King's Annual Report for 1890. Coal is the staple of the discourse, Dr. King's interest in the exploitation of gold-fields having been apparently extra-departmental. Mr. Foote was engaged with possible Tom Tiddler's grounds in the Madras Presidency, but the Report tells us very little about his work, and that little is of the nature of dry bones. Mr. Foote's forthcoming memoir on the Bellary district has probably occupied much of his time. In it we are promised description, in detail, of sundry "occurrences" geologic.

Geologic experiment and judgment thereon are not always infallible. During the construction of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, a seam of coal was struck in the foundations of a bridge over the Ib river, which was not thought much of departmentally, and was considered of too inferior a quality to encourage further exploitation. Mr. Foote writes:—

"The Ib bridge find was, however, followed by the digging of a small pit; whence a reported trial of the coal gave such favourable results, that arrangements were made for me to visit once more this field, in which I had myself failed to strike any sufficiently promising seams. This small pit furnished continuous samples of 8 feet of apparently uniformly good coal, on which I advised a system of boring should any of these samples be favourable; but, after all, even this coal was found to be not of much better quality than that already known in the field. Still, its uniformity and thickness are in its favour: and, above all, it was certainly better than the coal then being used on the railway from the Warora colliery."

In view of the demand for coal, fresh research has been entered on in the Daltongunj field. Trial borings for coal in the Hura field of the Rajmahal tract near Semra have been abandoned, Dr. King being reluctantly of opinion that there would be no gain in prosecuting any further search in this part of the country. Here are some of Mr. Oldham's remarks about "striking oil" in the Bolan:—

"During his examination of the Bolan pass in February and March, Mr. Oldham was led to make the following remarks on the oil locality near Kirta:—'At the foot of the hills west of the dāk bungalow, there are extensive deposits of travertine which have evidently been deposited by hot sulphurous springs, which have now ceased to flow, though warm gas still oozes up through the travertine, and can be recognized by its smell. It is difficult to say why these

springs issued there : no certain indications of a fault can be found, and one of the springs issued formerly from the hillside, 250 feet above the top of the talus fan at its base. They occur along the outcrop of the band of sandy limestones and calcareous sandstones with *belemnite*-bearing shales at their base.

'These travertine deposits are impregnated to a marked degree by petroleum, and on the strength of these surface indications a bore-hole was sunk in the spring of 1889. It penetrated the *belemnite* shales ; and at 360 feet a copious spring of hot sulphurous water was struck, and a small amount of oil obtained. The derrick was shifted, but no second boring was put down.

'In view of the importance of discovering petroleum in workable quantity near the line of railway, it is important to discuss the probability of its so occurring near Kirta. A careful examination of the outcrops has convinced me that the petroleum which impregnates the travertine and surface soil was not derived from any rock now exposed at the outcrop, but was brought up from below with the hot water of the springs. Further, from the occurrence of an abundant supply of hot sulphurous water, which, when released by the bore-hole, flowed freely at the surface, it would seem that these springs have ceased to flow owing to their channels having been blocked up by a deposit of travertine. If this conclusion be correct, any boring sunk along the line of these old springs would be likely to be troubled with hot acid water, which would rapidly corrode the casing of the bore-hole.'

Progress Report on Arboriculture in the Punjab, for the three years 1887-88 to 1889-90.

THIS is one of the next Triennial Reports. From which it appears that, at the close of the year 1889-90, 6,124 miles of road and canal avenue had been planted with trees by District Municipal Boards. During the same period, P. W. D. Canal and Road officers added 476 miles more. The total area of groves and plantations amounts now to 21,378 miles. The area appropriated for nurseries is 288 acres in districts, 48 acres on canals, and 18 acres on provincial roads.

Punjab agriculturists naturally enough fail to appreciate the beauties of having road-side trees close enough to their fields to kill with shade two three *luggee*-lengths of crop. Accordingly, we find in this Report, lamentation over destruction of full-grown trees in the Rawal Pindi District. Here is an extract from the Resolution accompanying the Report which is noteworthy from more than one point of regard :—

"The desirability of enlisting the sympathies of the people in favour of arboricultural operations should not be lost sight of by District Officers. In Mooltan the Deputy Commissioner speaks of an old custom, now in force in one tahsíl only, of getting the zamíndárs to water road-side trees near their wells, receiving payment at a fixed rate for each tree alive at the end of the season. This plan is mentioned in the Arboriculture Manual and is recommended for adoption where possible, as being much less expensive than watering by hired "bistis." The attention of the Commissioner of Derajat is invited to the remarks in the Bannu District Report regarding the

appropriation by certain 'influential persons' of water allowed at settlement for arboricultural purposes. Some of the persons referred to are members of the District Board, which body is said to take no interest in arboriculture. Tree growing on road-sides in this district also meets with opposition from the adjoining Zamindars, and in fact the position of affairs is anything but promising. The Lieutenant-Governor fails to see why this state of things should be accepted as inevitable, especially as it would appear that arboriculture was in this district at one time carried on with success."

It is further written *à propos* of another side of the subject:—

"Taking the Punjab as a whole, arboriculture must be regarded as an object upon which expenditure is to be incurred, and not as a source of revenue. The Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, agrees with the Conservator that the Commissioner of Delhi is wrong in deprecating expenditure upon road-side avenues on the ground that they do not pay financially, but there is of course much to be said for his argument, that money can be more profitably spent in many districts in making groves and plantations which will pay financially and also improve the fuel and fodder supply of the country. Colonel Grey takes much interest in the afforestation of Rakhs, Birs and waste lands, and under his guidance an interesting experiment is being conducted in one of the Hansi Birs by a native gentleman of Hansi. Moreover, in the more favoured districts of the Province, avenues do pay from a commercial point of view. An instance in the Delhi Division itself is the Umballa District, which during the triennial period under review yielded a surplus of income over expenditure amounting to Rs. 1,264, the total income being Rs. 10,587. In Sialkot the income from the sale of road-side trees and loppings amounted in the three years to Rs. 37,478 as against an expenditure of Rs. 21,266. In the older Canal Divisions, as might be expected, a very handsome profit is derived from the sale of timber and fuel, and on the recently constructed canals it is only a question of time for arboricultural operations to prove a fair financial success. In the drier districts of the Province tree-growing can of course never be expected to yield a profit. In the case of these, what is to be looked for is that the results should in some degree be proportionate to the expenditure incurred.

Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1889-90. Madras: Office of Superintendent, Government Press.

THIS is a voluminous report; too voluminous for lucidity, and somewhat too rosy-hued, though it may be granted that it is on the whole a record of steady progress and substantial gains to the educational cause. It tells us that, during the last decade, while the number of all pupils taken together has increased by 57·7 per cent., the corresponding figure in the case of girls is no less than 142 per cent. That we take to be the most salient and interesting fact recorded in the Report. As to girls' schools, there was an increase last year over 1888-89 of from 891 to 921, and the total number of girls under instruction rose from 69,873 to 78,344, an advance of

12·1 per cent. against 6·6 per cent. in the previous year. During the last decade Native Christian (girl) pupils have increased sixfold, Mahomedan and Hindu threefold, and "others," including Pariahs, fourteenfold ; *a'propos* of this subject, Mrs. Brander writes :—

"Ten years ago there were seven High departments with 31 pupils. Now there are 17 with 102 pupils. Then all the High departments were for Eurasians and Europeans. Now 3 are for Hindus and 5 for Native Christians. In 1880-81, there were 17 Middle departments with 223 pupils. Now there are 58 with 727 pupils. Then, with the exception of 2 for Native Christians and one for Hindus, all the 17 Middle departments were for Europeans. Now 21 are for Native Christians, 11 are for Hindus, and 2 are for Mahomedans. It will be seen that the number of High departments has multiplied more than fourfold, (this should be twofold), and the number of pupils in them more than threefold. Both high and middle education has been extended to Native Christians and Hindus and the latter even to Mahomedans.' Considering the impediments that lie in the way of the higher education of women, the progress above recorded must be considered satisfactory. Out of 43,563 girls, 178 were in the High, and 2,113 in the Middle departments, against 144 and 1,978, respectively, in the previous year ; the increase in the former being 1·5 and that in the latter 6 per district. The improvement in the attendance of the High school classes is especially encouraging. Nearly 80 per cent., however, of those reading in the Middle departments were Eurasians or Europeans and Native Christians. The Hindu and Mahomedan communities have not yet shown any general and strong desire for the education of their girls, even in the primary standards, and the time is probably remote when any decided step will be taken by them in the direction of secondary education. The establishment, and, what is more important, the successful working of Home education classes may, by creating a thirst for knowledge among the women of the household, help to bring about a change in the attitude of Hindu and Mahomedan parents with regard to the higher education of their daughters."

The girls have not so far distinguished themselves in Examinations, but that is not to be wondered at ; affording to them of opportunities for higher education cannot be said to have passed out of the experimental stage yet.

Another hopeful part of the Report is that dealing with Mahomedan education, though decline in the case of secondary schools is regretted. But the figures for primary public institutions are good, and the number of pupils studying in private institutions last year was more than three times greater than it was three years ago. Though the Report does not say so, the short attendance at secondary schools is a result probably of hard times, and the ever-increasing and broadening pressure of competition, necessitating educationally premature starts in life. Physical education is said to have taken a hold on student inclination "which will lead to its speedy development." An increase is noted in the number of degrees conferred in the Arts and Engineering Faculties.

The latter fact seems to us matter for congratulation. The utilitarian side of education is the side that has hitherto been weakest in our schools and colleges, the side most likely to lead up to a strengthening of intellectual backbone, of which the Indian character stands much in need.

We are told that :—

“ Very satisfactory work was done by the Art class attached to the Kumbakonam College. The attendance rose from 72 to 181, of whom only 24 were College students. The artisan community contributed 53 pupils, while the Town and Native High Schools and the Government Girls' School sent 43, 26 and 35 pupils, respectively. For the Drawing branch of the Middle School examination, 24 went up, of whom 14 passed. Seven of those who went up and 14 of those who passed were College students; the rest belonged to the artisan class. Two artisan students also passed the higher examination in Drawing, one of them, M. R. Ry. Mukkanasari, being a member of the local Municipal Council. He joined the class as a regular student, and appeared for, and passed, the public examination chiefly for the purpose of setting an example to the members of his community.”

In the schools of agriculture pupils are reported to have made fair progress; and practical instruction received increased attention.

On the unrosy side, it appears from a Secretariat Resolution published with the Report, that the inclusion of statistics relating to private institutions—many of them petty village schools of a very elementary type and no real avail—vitiates the departmental song of triumph over the general advance of the educational cause along the line. Then, with regard to University Examinations, although the Government does not attach much importance to slight decline in the number of candidates presenting themselves, it does consider a marked deterioration in the results of the examinations a serious matter. And the Government finds it difficult to believe that the candidates themselves are altogether responsible for a deterioration in results which has made itself apparent in all classes of institutions: if not due to capriciousness in examination, it must indicate deterioration in teaching. Again, mention is made of the insufficiency of the standard of general education required of students in the Medical College preparing for the L. M. S. degree. Here is another extract from the Resolution :—

“ The unprecedentedly low proportion of successful candidates in the F. A. examination is the result of the failure of a very large number of candidates in mathematics, and the Director, it is observed, ascribes this last fact to a general deterioration in the teaching of this important subject. In certain individual cases, however, the results of the examinations speak by no means well for the instruction afforded; thus more than 50 per cent. of the candidates appearing for the B. A. degree from the Presidency College failed in mathematics, and out of 60 candidates sent up from the Rajahmundry College for the F. A. examination, no fewer than 53 were unsuccessful in the same subject ;

even allowing that the mathematical papers were unusually difficult, these figures can hardly be regarded as creditable to the institutions concerned, and an improvement in the mathematical teaching staff of the Rajahmundry College seems to be called for."

The results of Middle School Examinations are pronounced "by no means good." Deterioration of mathematical teaching is noticed in connection with schools sending pupils to the Middle School Examination. The teaching staff of the Normal Schools generally is adjudged much below what it should be in educational attainments. One more quotation, and we have done :—

"It is to be feared that technical classes are too often opened without due consideration and without proper provision for efficient instruction, and that the effect of this and of the want of any real interest on the part of those managing them, is, that after a brief existence, they languish. The sudden increase of such classes cannot therefore as yet be safely viewed as correctly gauging the growth in the demand for technical instruction, and it is not likely that these classes will advance rapidly for some time to come, inasmuch as the Government has now distinctly laid down that the expenditure of local bodies should be concentrated on general primary education. The number of teachers in industrial schools who hold no certificates is very large, but this is natural in view of the recent introduction of technical education, and no considerable immediate improvement in this direction can be looked for."

Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1889-90. Madras: Office of Superintendent, Government Press.

THE last year of Lord Connemara's tenure of office in Madras was high-politically uneventful. In the matter of practical politics his Lordship set a shining example to high officialdom at large, by leaving Ootacamund in the hottest of the hot weather to personally inspect famine-afflicted tracts in Ganjam and other distressed parts of the country, and to inaugurate Relief measures. Lord Connemara did a deal of difficult touring and seeing things with his own eyes in the course of his governorship. And he had eyes that could see, and were determined to see, and a great deal of sturdy common-sense, to boot—a useful gubernatorial faculty that was conspicuously lacking in his much cleverer and much less successful predecessor.

"Revenue settlement operations were in progress during 1889-90 in the districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Vizagapatam, Madura, Tanjore, South Arcot and Malabar. The total area classified was 1,584 square miles. Settlement rates were introduced into three taluks of Vizagapatam, into the remainder of the Tindivanam taluk and part of the Tiruvánamalai taluk of South Arcot, as well as into the Ochterlony Valley,

Nilgiris. The total expenditure was Rs. 3,12,016, and the total cost of the Department up to the close of the year Rs. 92,88,667. The net increase of revenue due to settlement operations amounts to over $3\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs, or a return of 34.25 per cent. on the outlay and of 11.2 per cent. on the total outlay incurred by the Survey and Settlement departments together.

"Survey proceeded, during the year, in 12 districts, *viz.*, Kistna, Bellary, Anantapur, Nellore, Kurnool, Coimbatore Salem, Malabar, South Canara. Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura. The total area of the Madras Presidency is estimated at 141,162 square miles, of which the cadastral survey of 62,924 square miles and the topographical survey of 56,349 square miles had been completed on the 31st March 1890."

Four Acts were passed by the local Legislative Council during the official year under review. Act II of 1889 amends the Madras Jails Act of 1869, by conferring on Jail warders the same powers of arrest with regard to non-cognizable offences as were previously held by police officers under section 57 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1882. Act III provides for prevention and control of petty nuisances outside the town of Madras. Act IV consolidates the Salt Revenue Law. Act I of 1890 makes provision for levy of duties on tobacco brought into the city. The proportion of police to the whole population was 1 to 1,620—in towns 1 to 619,—and in rural parts 1 to 1,792.

The general proportion of police to area was 1 to 6.7 square miles, and the average cost of a policeman Rs. 172 $\frac{3}{4}$. We are reminded that the police concerned in the alleged torture case at Kumbakonum were honourably acquitted. The proportion of men in the force able to read and write was 76.9.

"There were 12,282 deaths from violent and unnatural causes, 11,934 being the number in 1888: the increase was mainly under the head of 'accidental deaths.' 9,887 fires were reported, causing the loss of 143 lives and an abnormal loss of property valued at nearly 31 lakhs, of which nearly 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were destroyed by the great fire at Cochin in January 1889. The number of known depredators, suspects and wandering gangs registered was 43,165 against 47,686 in 1888 and 65,663 in 1887. The number of old offenders sentenced to enhanced punishment was 1,521. 110,716 cognizable offences under the Penal Code and special and local laws were dealt with, being an increase of nearly 3,500 cases as compared with the previous year: 69.3 per cent. were prosecuted to conviction. More than 165,000 persons were arrested, and 58.3 per cent. were convicted—a slight improvement on the figures

for 1888. Of $14\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of property lost, a little more than 3 lakhs was recovered. Madras City exhibited the best results in all respects, followed closely by Jeypore. Detective results under special and local laws were, as usual, satisfactory, and showed a slight improvement. There were 350 murders reported against 381 in 1888; of these, 98 or 28 per cent. were detected, the murderers committing suicide in 58 cases. There was slight decrease of 12 cases in the number of dacoities. 314 cases of robbery were recorded against 301 in 1888; of these, 125 or 39·8 were detected against 38·2 in the preceding year. Property lost by these offences was nearly the same as last year, but the amount recovered was not so satisfactory. The number of house-breakings reported was 7,298 against 6,534 in 1888. The total number of grave cases against property was 7,811 against 7,046 in the previous year, the percentage of detection remaining at 31 per cent. The increase was chiefly due to scarcity in the Southern districts in the latter part of the year, and to grain riots in some places. 2,414 cattle thefts were registered against 2,274 in the preceding year; detection of these improved slightly. Ordinary thefts numbered 13,781 against 13,667 in 1888. Detection, however, rose from 39 per cent. to 41·3. In Ganjam, 319 thefts were directly attributable to the famine. The number of cattle poisoning cases was 52 against 48 in 1888; half of these were detected. 4,521 cases were referred by magistrates to the police for inquiry and 15,260 by the police to magistrates for orders against 5,044 and 14,224, respectively, in 1888. Out of 75,958 cases prosecuted by the police, 4,112 or 5·4 per cent. were found false after trial. 7 persons were convicted of infanticide, of whom 2 were sentenced to death."

Exercising criminal jurisdiction in the mofussil there were "7,135 Village Magistrates', 168 Third-class Magistrates', 455 Second-class Magistrates' and 129 First-class Magistrates' Courts with 20 Courts of Session, and at the Presidency Town 2 Presidency Magistrates', 1 Police Commissioner's and the High Court. The increase of crime, which began in 1887, continued during the year under report, the total number of offences returned as true being 212,365 against 206,793 in 1888. Under the Penal Code, however, it was very slight, the bulk of the advance being due to special and local laws. False cases were most abundant in Tanjore, Malabar and Cuddapah. Of the 706 offences affecting life, 251 were cases of murder. The Nilgiris alone was free from dacoity. The ratio of grave crimes to population was 1 to 1,636, the districts in which the ratio stood the highest being Madras, Vizagapatam Agency, and the Nilgiris. The total number of persons under trial was 371,240 as compared with 363,481 in 1888, these figures in-

cluding 79 and 136 European British subjects respectively. The percentage of convictions under the Penal Code and under Special and Local Laws was 21·4 and 79·5 respectively. The total number of original cases before the Courts was 216,480, of which 38,383 were contributed by the Presidency Town. The total number of appeals preferred was 6,558. Regular Magistrates' Courts in the mofussil disposed of 165,952 cases affecting 320,252 persons, the percentage of persons convicted being 36·9 against 36·2 in 1888. The average fine was Rs. 4·6 per head as against Rs. 4 in the previous year. The number of appeals instituted in these Courts was 5,265 against 5,070 in 1888. Sessions Courts disposed of 998 original cases, affecting 2,562 persons, the percentage of convictions being 44·8 against 41·6 in the preceding year. They also dealt with 700 appeals against 614 in 1888. The percentage of sentences of Magistrates confirmed by Sessions Courts was 65·3, the High Court confirming 58·6 per cent. of the Sessions Courts' sentences. The number of cases instituted before Presidency Magistrates diminished from 40,860 to 38,350; of these, only 2 were left pending, the percentage of convictions being 80·4. The number of cases disposed of at the High Court Sessions was 33 and the percentage of convictions rose to 69·8. 19 cases, in which Sessions Judges disagreed with the verdict of juries, were referred to the High Court, as also 60 cases of sentences to capital punishment for confirmation. Of the 78 persons concerned in the latter, 52 were convicted, 37 sentences being confirmed. The number of appeals instituted in the High Court was 590 against 620 in 1888, and the number disposed of 484 against 521. The High Court also disposed of 625 revision cases, and perused 2,035 calendars during the year."

With reference to Jails, we note that there were 49 escapes against 33 in 1888. There were 1,173 Burmese convicts. No prisoners were employed on unremunerative labour. There was diminution in the number of Jail offences and punishments, and 230 prisoners are said to have "benefited" by Jail education—it is not explained in what way. The average death-rate in all Jails was 38·53 per mille.

The Registration Department results of the year were the best hitherto attained, the number of registrations having risen to 727,395 over the results of 1888-89, or by 5·9 per cent. Most of the wills registered were those of Hindus. The average fee was Rs. 1-2-9.

Bubble companies find the air in the Southern Presidency congenial :—

"There were 296 joint-stock companies in existence at the close of the year 1888-89. Of these, 30 had no capital divid-

ed into shares, while the rest were working with an aggregate nominal capital of Rs. 3,72,80,720. During the year 60 companies were wound up, 50 having a nominal capital of Rs. 30,87,557 and the rest none. 21 companies increased their capital during the year by Rs. 13,57,334; none of them reduced it. 27 new companies were registered; 24 of these possessed an aggregate nominal and paid-up capital of Rs. 31,71,857 and Rs. 11,42,101, respectively, the remaining 3 having no capital. The net result at the close of the year 1889-90 was a total of 263 companies at work."

Some definition of the meaning to be attached to the word "work" would seem to be desirable here.

The strength of the British Army was 13,006 men, of the Native Army 28,306. "A new Volunteer Reserve Corps was formed in the Kistna district. Vizianagram was substituted for Berhampore as a regimental station for Madras Infantry. About 400 men of the Pioneers were employed on the Periyar project. Field operations were conducted in the Chin Lushai country by 2 companies of the Queen's Own Sappers and Miners, 50 men of the Burma Sappers and Miners, 300 men of the Cheshire Regiment, 400 men of the King's Own Scottish Borderers and the 2nd Madras Infantry, the whole force being under the command of Brigadier-General W. P. Symonds. A number of smaller expeditions were also undertaken by Madras troops. The general health of the British troops was not so good as in the previous year. The death-rate rose by 3.91 per mille, and the average daily sick-rate, the invaliding-rate, and the admission-rate all showed a considerable increase. There were 27 cases of cholera amongst the men. The most unhealthy station was Secunderabad, where enteric fever was especially prevalent. The health of the Native army was also bad, the death-rate rising by 3.91 per mille, and the admission-rate by 66.39. The invaliding-rate, however, fell nearly one-half. As usual the Burmese districts were the most unhealthy. Owing to the repeal of the Contagious Disease Act, the lock hospitals were practically empty, and those at Wellington and Cannanore were closed during the year."

Trade statistics for the port of Madras show increase in the number and tonnage of vessels, and in respect of all other ports a large decrease in the number, and a slight decrease in tonnage and dues, the decrease being almost entirely confined to native craft. The total value for the Presidency excluding treasure and transactions on account of Government, amounted to 27 crores and 16½ lakhs, against 25 crores and 14¾ lakhs in the preceding year. This advance (nearly 202 lakhs) was made up of increases of nearly 110 lakhs under exports, and nearly 92 under imports.

"The total value of the external trade, *i.e.*, the trade with foreign countries, with Indian Ports not British, and with British Ports in other Presidencies, amounted to over 23 crores and 70 lakhs, an advance of 159½ lakhs, as compared with 1888-89. Exports contributed 14 crores and 38 lakhs, or 60·67 per cent. of the total value of this trade. Compared with 1888-89, the exports increased by 90½ lakhs or 6·73 per cent., and the imports by nearly 69 lakhs or 7·99 per cent. The increase in exports was mainly with the United Kingdom, France and Ceylon, and in imports with the United Kingdom. The exports of Indian produce and manufactures increased by over 91 lakhs or 6·85 per cent., while those of foreign merchandise decreased by nearly 1 lakh or 6·4 per cent. The more important exports of Indian articles, *i.e.* those the annual value of which exceeded 50 lakhs, were raw cotton, hides and skins, coffee, indigo, seeds, grain and pulse, sugar, spices and oils, which together contributed nearly 81 per cent. of the total exports of Indian produce."

The total value of the coasting trade amounted to over 6 crores and 2 lakhs, nearly 4 lakhs more than in the previous year.

People who admire white elephants will be glad to hear that Sir Alexander Rendel, K.C.I.E., after careful investigation of the Madras Harbour Works, expressed approval of the plans and arrangements adopted. As to other Public Works, it is written that the Bangalore and Ootacamund water-supply schemes were "investigated." Furthermore "the artesian boring in the Kortalayár valley was abandoned, and operations recommenced at Tuticorin. The Arsenal workshops' building at Bellary turned out a failure as also the Gopálpur pier, both of which works were abandoned. The brick-work of the first and second floors of the new Law Courts, Madras, was completed during the year, together with all the out-buildings. The famine relief works in the Ganjam district set on foot in the previous year were continued as such till November 1889, when the pressure of Famine ceased. The Rushikulya project was then continued as an ordinary protective work and the Boppayapuram gedda, which had been nearly finished, was ordered to be completed by the Public Works Department. The Ganjam-Gopálpur canal, on which about Rs. 1,30,000 had been spent, was not considered worth completing, as the expenditure to be incurred would be heavy, and the work itself running parallel with the proposed East Coast Railway would be of no special advantage. A Military Works Department was constituted during the year, and the Public Works in the stations of Madras, Poonamalee, Vellore Fort, Wellington, Bangalore and Bellary placed under its control."

Public Works do not appear to be Madras's strong point. Even the actively restless Duke of Buckingham never got much beyond driving a locomotive with his own august hands. The period of sanction accorded by the Secretary of State to the Periyár project having expired, the Government of India had to be begged, in February 1890, to extend the sanction for a further period of five years. Work on the Ganjam-Gopálpúr tidal canal started in January 1889, was stopped at the end of November, the advantages to be gained from completing it not being deemed commensurate with its probable cost.

Working expenses in the Buckingham canal amounted to Rs. 76,172 more than its receipts.

No extensions were made in the Madras or South Indian Railways, and no progress was made with the Nilgiri Railway. On the Madras Railway there was a development of goods traffic, resulting in a net profit of $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on outlay. There was an increase of 7.28 per cent. in passenger traffic.

"The total capital expenditure on the Bezváda Extension Railway up to 31st March 1890, was Rs. 13,62,985, being at the rate of Rs. 64,904 per mile, and the net profits for the official year under review were Rs. 15,167, being at the rate of 1.11 per cent. on the outlay. This line was opened for traffic on the 10th February 1889 and is worked by His Highness the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway Company as part of their system."

Post Offices continue to flourish and multiply. 392 miles of telegraph lines were constructed, bringing the total mileage up to 5,291 miles,

About Local Self-Government and the conduct of Municipal affairs very little is said: the matter seems to have been slurred over. Is that because of the unsuccessfulness of the fad?

On the subject of education in the Southern Presidency, we have commented on another page.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The United Service Magazine. A Monthly Review of all Questions affecting National Interests. March 1891.

IN this issue Lord Wolseley discourses on *The Study of War*, and there are two informing papers anent Australian interests and habitudes. But the interest of the number centres in a *German View of the Defence of India*, a translation from the *Militär Wochenblatt* by Captain E. S. May, R. A. The essay concludes thus :—

“ The result of a Russian descent on India is by no means so certain as all those who wish to treat with Lord Salisbury pretend. They examine the territory lying between Russia and England on a map drawn to a small scale, and, therefore, deceive themselves as regards the immense distances involved, and the arduous nature of the marches which would have to be made. Neither, however, can the defeat of the Czar be predicted with the certainty which characterises the utterances of some prophets of English invincibility. England must be on her guard, in spite of all the intervening mountain ranges and extensive tracts of country. For she must remember that it is only for her that the struggle on the Indus will be one of life and death—a fight for one of the chief pillars of her position as one of the greatest powers. Russia, on the contrary, even if she were defeated and lost every man of her army of invasion, would merely be politically where she was before, and after some years might again advance with fresh forces to the combat.”

The Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature.
Edited by Professor S. D. F. SALMOND, D. D. Edinburgh :
T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street.

WE have to thank the publishers for sending us the first two issues of this new *Review*. Its theology is of the Evangelical type, but neither narrow nor sour ; its views on philosophy, although undogmatically eclectic, appear to be, to a great extent, affiliated with modern German schools of thought and criticism ; the *odium theologicum* has no place in its pages, its contributors—some of them clerics, some of them laymen—write like gentlemen as well as like scholars. All contributions are signed, and the array of names they present is more than respectable. In a preface to the first number the Editor writes :—

“ The Magazine will not be the organ of any particular section of the Evangelical Church, but will be conducted in the interest of all its branches. It will study the wants of clergymen and students of

Theology, but it will also address itself to all, whether lay or clerical, who give intelligent attention to the religious questions of the day."

The Master of University College, Durham, contributes an article on Döllinger's Letters. From one of which, a reply to the Papal Nuncio, dated 12th October 1887, the following extract is quoted :—

"I know from a number of irreproachable witnesses, from statements which they have let fall, that the Council of the Vatican was not free, that the means there used were menaces, intimidations, and seductions. I know it from bishops, whose letters I hold, or who have told it to me by word of mouth. The very Archbishop of Munich who excommunicated me, came to me the day after his return from Rome, and told me certain details which left in me no doubt. It is true that all these prelates have made their submission, they all agreed to say, by way of excuse, 'We do not wish to make a schism.' *I also do not wish to be a member of a schismatical society : I am isolated.*"

Here is another noteworthy quotation from a critique on *The Life and Letters of the Rev. Adam Sedgwick*, by J. W. Clark and Professor Hughes :—

"The position occupied by Sedgwick was in some respects unique. He was a pioneer in science, yet a devout and conscientious clergyman, at a time when teachers of Science and of Theology were too often in conflict: a simple-minded man, who enjoyed nothing more than a romp with children, while at the same time he was a successful courtier and an honoured friend of the Queen and Prince Albert.

"In his character were combined many contradictory traits. He was patient in his geological investigations, yet fierce and unreasonable in controversy; broad in his sympathies, but narrow in his religious opinions; liberal and large hearted in his sentiments, yet so conservative in his beliefs in matters of scientific reasoning, that he is usually to be found strongly opposing any novel results of deductive inquiry—witness his attitude towards the views of Agassiz and his followers as to glacial action. He was a man of athletic frame, yet a valétudinaire; a University Professor who never failed to do far more than the specified duties of his office; and a Canon of Norwich, who was equally conscientious in the discharge of his Cathedral functions."

No. 2 of the new *Critical Review* opens with a discriminating analysis of the bent and scope of Cardinal Newman's mind, a questing out of the secret of his power over other men's—and the most dissimilar men's—minds and affections. In the following passage Principal Fairbairn touches on a peculiarity in Newman's career, which we have not seen pointed out in any of the books dealing with his life, or any of the many obituary notices of him that have been published :—

"What is curious is that in spite of his changes and the invincible logic by which they were worked, his power remained specifically Anglican, never became distinctively Roman. While his influence outside his own communion was immense, inside it was but small, at least till within a few years of the end, and even then it was due less to its intrinsic force than to his extrinsic reputation; the honour then done him was an act of homage to the honour in which he was held by

those who were without. He was happy in the home he had made for himself, but he was so potent as to be a real and effectual presence only in the home he had left. The men with whom he had real affinity, and for whom he entertained true affection, were for the most part the friends of his Anglican period, the men who had either accompanied him to Rome, or who only loved him the more that they had lost him."

Reviewing *The Golden Bough*, Professor Macallister writes :—

"We have been accustomed now to see the fluctuations of opinion in questions of comparative religion according to the popularity of some dominant hypothesis. Time was when Bryant and his school reduced all legendary lore to the symbolic remembrance of the Deluge and the Ark. Then we had the unsavoury school of Knight, and those who regarded the central idea in mythology as the reproductive powers in nature. Then, when comparative mythology became allied to philology, we were taught that the whole circle of the gods were but personifications of solar phenomena: and now Mr. Frazer has made out quite as good a case for his great vegetative myth as any of his predecessors have done for theirs."

The above extracts from the pages of the new *Review* will, we take it, better than any commentary of ours could, give readers interested in the subjects it deals with, an idea of the manner in which they are treated.

Rulers of India: The Earl of Mayo. Edited by SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A., L.L.D., Oxford Clarendon Press, 1891.

A *LIFE of Lord Mayo* is one of the latest additions to the "Rulers of India" series in course of publication under the auspices of the Oxford Clarendon Press.

Sir W. W. Hunter is the large minded Viceroy's biographer; and the years have brought to him no abatement of literary power or the faculty for condensation and grasp of salient points. This life of Lord Mayo is a work admirably done: it claims to pourtray a memorable stage in the process by which these dominions, old and new, were welded together into the India of the Queen: it was Lord Canning's business after the Mutiny, Sir John Lawrence's after him, out of the wreck of the East India Company's rule, to gather together and consolidate a new and imperial system of administration. To Lord Mayo fell, as his Biographer says, the more beneficent work of conciliation: the task of infusing into the old sense of self-interest new sentiments of loyalty, and of awakening new conceptions of solidarity between the Feudatory Chiefs and the Suzerain Power—a work of conciliation not confined to the Princes, since it embraced also the peoples of India, with whose disabilities and downtroddenness Lord Mayo felt an inborn generous sympathy. Moreover, he had been deeply impressed, both in his

native Ireland and during a tour in Russia in 1845, by the political dangers arising out of such an excluded class as he found the Mahomedans, the ex-ruling class, then neglected and degenerating into effeminacy. Conciliation, then, was one main object he set before him to accomplish, and for the task he had special gifts. As Lord Derby said: "It was with him not a matter of calculation, but the result of nature." He was always one of the most amiable of men, and he was well beloved, in consequence, by all with whom he was brought into personal contact.

It is by his foreign policy, and by his able control of Foreign Office affairs at a critical time, that Lord Mayo will be best known to history. With regard to the former, his biographer says:—

"Lord Mayo arrived at a juncture when the pre-existing methods had come to their natural termination. Lord Dalhousie's annexation of the Punjab in 1849, by throwing down the Sikh breakwater between British India and Afghánistán, brought closer the boundaries of Russian and English activity in the East. Our Asiatic relations with Russia passed definitely within the control of European diplomacy, and during the next twenty years, the Indian Foreign Office pursued a policy of *laissez faire* towards its trans-frontier neighbours on the north-west. This policy, deliberately adopted and justified at its inception by the facts, had manifestly ceased to be any longer possible, shortly before Lord Mayo's arrival. The dangers of isolation were become greater than the risks of intervention. The task set before Lord Mayo was to create a new breakwater between the spheres of English and Russian activity in Asia."

How well he succeeded in this endeavour, readers of the *Calcutta Review* will not have forgotten yet. In the matter of internal administration, he deserves credit for wisdom in having recognized the necessity for decentralization in Government, and for great tact and ability in reconciling it with the need for consolidation. Again, his bold Railway policy deserves commendation. During the five years that preceded his assumption of office, only 892 miles of railway had been laid down. Thanks to his inauguration of a new system of State and Guaranteed Railways, during the five years which followed 1869-70, 2,013 additional miles were opened. The old system of Guaranteed Railways had, from its inception in 1853, constructed a total of 4,265 miles only during the 17 years ending 1869-70: thanks to the new system devised by the energetic and practically-minded whilom Chief Secretary for Ireland, the total railway mileage open in 1887-88 had risen to 15,245 miles. He took great interest in all public works, and thoroughly reorganized that bloated, untrained staff corps officer controlled establishment that had, during the previous 12 years, "rushed to the front of the spending departments

in India," and that on all sides stood convicted of blunders and extravagance :—

" Lord Mayo, alike on his tours and in his Cabinet, set himself to remedy this state of things. 'There is scarcely a fault,' runs one of his Minutes on a certain undertaking, 'which could have been committed in the construction of a great work, which has not been committed here. Estimates a hundred per cent. wrong—design faulty—foundations commenced without the necessary examination of substratum—no inquiry into the excess of cost over estimates during progress.' In another case : 'I have read with great sorrow this deplorable history of negligence, incapacity, and corruption ; negligence in the conduct of every superior officer who was connected with the construction of these buildings from the beginning ; incapacity to a greater or lesser extent on the part of almost every subordinate concerned ; corruption on the part of the contractors.' Elsewhere : 'I have read the report on the barracks. It is quite dreadful. There is not a man referred to who seems to have done his duty, except one who was unmercifully snubbed. This report will assist me in the re-organisation of the Department.' "

The blame for blunders and extravagance lay more with the system in vogue than the individual officers concerned. The brain power of the Department was overworked, and inspecting officers were held responsible for a larger area than they could possibly give attention to ; a series of vast works were at one and the same time scattered over the whole Continent without any corresponding additions to the staff ; Executive Engineers were overwhelmed with clerical office work, which glued them to their desks and precluded them from overlooking their real work. We are told that the Viceroy's visit to certain Railway works under construction by private contractors, and about the same time to a building being erected by the Public Works Department, forced this last defect of the system strongly on his mind. He always preferred seeing things with his own eyes, to being instructed, in the routine Anglo-Indian, by reports and minutes. In the instance referred to :—

" At the private contractors' works he saw three European gentlemen, umbrella in hand and their heads roofed over by enormous pith hats, standing out in the hottest sun, and watching with their own eyes the native workmen as they set brick upon brick. In the building under erection by the Public Works, he found only the coolies and bricklayers, without supervision of any sort. On inquiry, the engineer in charge pleaded office duties, the subordinate engineer pleaded the impossibility of looking after a great many works at the same time throughout a considerable district ; and the net result was, that Government had to put up with loss of money and bad masonry. Lord Mayo exclaimed : 'I see what we want—good supervision and one thing at a time.' "

He was able to see also that extravagance in Public Works was largely due to the facility of obtaining loans for their construction, and accordingly he laid down a strict rule that

all ordinary works—works not of a reproductive nature—must be constructed out of current revenue. It is a golden rule: ‘pity ’tis that ’tis not always as strictly followed now as it was in Lord Mayo’s time.’ Sir William Hunter points out that by stringently applying his principle of ‘first finding the money and improved supervision,’ he not only effected a large saving during his own Viceroyalty, but rendered possible the subsequent expansion of the Department without financial disaster to the country.

At the same time he fully accepted the responsibility of the British Government to prevent famines, and he believed that the best means to this end were Railway construction and completion of great irrigation works.

Lord Mayo did not believe in the ‘filtration downwards’ theory as applied to matters educational:—

“‘I dislike,’ he wrote to a friend, ‘this filtration theory. In Bengal we are educating in English a few hundred Bábus at great expense to the State. Many of them are well able to pay for themselves, and have no other object in learning than to qualify for Government employ. In the meanwhile we have done nothing towards extending knowledge to the million. The Bábus will never do it. The more education you give them, the more they will keep to themselves, and make their increased knowledge a means of tyranny. If you wait till the bad English, which the 400 Bábus learn in Calcutta, filters down into the 40,000,000 of Bengal, you will be ultimately a Silurian rock instead of a retired judge. Let the Bábus learn English by all means. But let us also try to do something towards teaching the three R’s to “Rural Bengal.”’”

Lord Mayo did much to promote education amongst Mahomedans, and a still more backward class, the Poor Whites. For a more backward class still, the Chiefs, he also made provision in the institution of special colleges, &c. He organized a Statistical Survey of India, and created a Department of Agriculture and Commerce on common-sense lines, realizing the folly of imagining that Western-world bred agricultural faddists can teach the Indian husbandman his own trade by means of steam ploughs and ammoniac manures. “I do not know,” he once wrote, “what is precisely meant by ammoniac manure. If it means guano, superphosphate, or any artificial products of that kind, we might as well ask the people of India to manure their ground with champagne.”

The most interesting chapter in the book is that entitled “The Man,” and dealing with his life from his childhood upwards. We are in it introduced to the homely, happy, pious family life at Hayes; an unpretending country house in Meath, about 22 miles from Dublin; and the system of primary edu-

* Referring to *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, which he had read in his voyage out to India.

cation pursued there, and which included walking expeditions, long rides, cricket, and swimming matches in the Boyne—a training which led up in after life to his very successful mastery of the almost moribund Kildare hounds. Says one of his brother sportsmen: “Those who saw him at Downshire jump into a trap filled with water will not easily forget his joyous whoop when we ran to ground, and his fine manly figure and happy face as he scraped the mud off his coat.” Students of heredity may like to know that “the talent at Hayes came from the mother.”

One of Lord Mayo's brothers writes:—“Often have I thought that poor Mayo inherited from her that conscientiousness in the discharge of minute duties which to me seemed one of the characteristics of his official life, both in England and in India.” Here is a vignette of the two years that followed Mr. Bourke's coming of age, previous to which he had travelled on the Continent and in Russia:—

“The next couple of seasons, Mr. Bourke devoted to the art of making himself agreeable in London society. A fragment of drift-wood, cast ashore from the old letters of the period, shows in what guise he flitted before contemporary faces. ‘A very young man, with a fine bearing; one of the best waltzers in town, and a great deal made of.’ By this time his frame had expanded itself to the commanding stature with the air of robust strength, by which he was known through life.”

Sir William Hunter's biography is, by the way, prefaced by an admirable likeness of Lord Mayo, in his robes as Grand Master of the Star of India.

We recommend all our readers to buy and read this most interesting book: it is interesting from the first line to the last, and no student of Indian politics and Indian history can afford to ignore it.

Rulers of India: Edited by SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A. (Oxford), : LL.D. (Cambridge). *Lord Cornwallis*: by W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1890.

INTIMATELY associated as the name of the Marquess Cornwallis is with that *Doami Bundobust* enacted a hundred years ago, which still continues to be a bone of contention between rival politicians and political economists even in our own time, few men, better qualified to set forth its bearings and interpretations, could have been found than Mr. Seton-Karr, *ex-Judge* of the Calcutta High Court, and Editor of those carefully-culled selections from antidiluvian *Calcutta Gazettes*, wherewith the torpid livers of so many of us have been titillated. No inconsiderable portion of the book now before us is occu-

pied with definitions and expositions of the perplexingly different land tenures that a hundred years ago obtained in India. In its pages we find discussed and determined the relations of a Zemindar to Government, and of a Ryot to a Zemindar, with interludes anent peshkash and nuzzerana, the arcana of Shikmi talooks and Sayer, Julkur, Bunker, &c. Here is an *ex* High Court Judge's opinion as to the main issue involved in the matter of Land Settlements :—

“It has been asserted at several epochs that as Cornwallis declared the Zamíndárs, with whom his Settlement was made, to be the ‘proprietors of the soil,’ and assured to them in his own language ‘the possession of their lands,’ and the profits arising from the improvement thereof, he intended to vest, and did vest them, with an absolute and exclusive right of ownership as we understand that term in England. But this is by no means the case. It is quite clear from the language of his Minutes and Letters, as well as from his legislation, that he only recognized in them a limited and not an absolute proprietorship ; that he clearly perceived, and was prepared to protect the rights and interests of other parties in the soil ; and that the terms in which he speaks of Zamíndárs as proprietors, must be taken in the Oriental and not in the English sense.

“He could not practically override what for centuries had been the common law of the country. Sir George Campbell, who has the advantage of familiarity with land tenures in the Punjab, in the Upper Provinces, in Oudh, and in Bengal, pointed out some years ago that land in India was a possession in which two and more parties had very distinct, separate, and permanent interests ; and that much of the confused and erroneous language applied to the subject had arisen from overlooking and disregarding this elementary fact.”

Cornwallis was wise in his generation : he was able to see that a landed gentry class, dependent for existence on the favour and prestige of a British Government, would be a serviceable buttress to the stability of its rule : and so he sought to weld the two interests together. Shore's wisdom looked further afield, had prescience, was averse to a leap in the dark, maintaining that the capabilities of the land to be arbitrarily “settled” for all time had not been ascertained ; that means for ascertaining it did not presently exist ; that on the part of high-handed Zemindars, great abuses of the virtual power delegated to them to levy abwabs and cesses prevailed ; that, in short, before committing the Honorable East India Company to an irrevocable settlement in perpetuity, it would be prudent, politic, and proper to wait till some certainty of knowledge could, by means of careful enquiry and investigation, be arrived at. There was, 100 years ago, a great deal to be said on both sides of the argument : there is still much to be said on both sides in this year of grace 1891. Possibly, wisdom has been justified of both her argumentative children. To one man's mind's eye what his fellow calls *black* may seem *white*, and *vice versa* ; and yet there need be no question of

mental colour blindness on the part of either party to the controversy. Mr. Seton-Karr says :—

“The judicial rent, now familiar to English readers from its recent introduction into Ireland, was the law of the land in India a century ago. It has never been shown how this necessity of a resort to a judicial tribunal could be compatible with any theory of absolute and unlimited ownership.”

Chapter IV of this book treats of Cornwallis' reform of the Civil Service of his time, and of the administration of Civil and Criminal Courts—a labour Herculean—diametrically opposed as it was to backstairs influence at the English Court, to the sinecures sacred to Dowry, to the breeches-pocket interests of all the Company's servants in the East, high and low. The labour was surmounted, though not without toil, difficulty, and display of moral courage. Let this extract from a letter to Lord Sydney bear witness :—

“I think I told you how much Lord Ailesbury had distressed me by sending out Mr. Ritso. He is now writing in the Secretary's Office for 200 or 250 rupees per month, and I do not see the probability of my being able to give him anything better, without deserving to be impeached. I am still persecuted every day by people coming out with letters to me, who either get into Jail or starve in the foreign Settlements. For God's sake do all in your power to stop this madness.”

To an English peer, soliciting an appointment for a protégé, the Governor-General wrote that he would be glad enough to appoint Mr. Beechcroft to a Commercial Residency, if the said Mr. Beechcroft were likely to succeed in it, “but here, my Lord, we are in the habit of looking for the man for the place, and not for the place for the man.” The Prince of Wales was similarly rebuffed. Cornwallis had a very adequate conception of duty and its obligations; a conception in advance of his time and surroundings. The “Cornwallis Code,” whether for revenue, police, criminal and civil justice, or other administrative functions, defined and set due bounds to authority, created legal procedure, by a regular system of appeal, strove to fend off miscarriages of justice, and laid the foundations and inaugurated the noble traditions of the Indian Civil Service of to-day. It was “dictated by an anxious desire to conciliate Hindus and Muhammedans, to soothe their feelings, to avoid offence to religious and social prejudices, and, at the same time, to substitute order, method, and system, for anarchy, chaos, and the irregular and uncontrolled exercise of judicial power.” It is noteworthy, taking into account the high Tory times in which Lord Cornwallis lived and the abject subjects he was set to govern, that he should have laid down, as a rule absolute, that the official acts of Collectors and District officers, and local satraps at large, might be challenged in the Civil Courts ;

that Government might be sued in the Courts, even as any private person might be, for illegal exactions, or for infringements of the rights of landholders and rayats, and that such suits could be cognizable only by Judges who had no direct or personal interest in enforcing the financial claims of Government. My Lord Cornwallis was a deal more conscientious in the exercise of his power than his snug English employers at the India House in Threadneedle Street deemed it needful or convenient for any one to be.

It is to Cornwallis's credit, that, 100 years ago, he was able to understand the advantage of that amalgamation of Royal and Company's troops into one army which did not become an accomplished fact till three quarters of a century after his first term of office as Governor General. An extract from a letter from Warren Hastings, dated the 22nd of April 1790, is creditable to both statesmen. It runs:—

“ ‘Of thanks I have a large debt due from me to your Lordship for many and substantial favours : for your great goodness to my old domesticks ; for your distinguished notice of my friends ; and for the liberal manner in which you were pleased to proclaim your allowance of the testimonials which were subscribed in my favour, and to authenticate them by the transmission of them to the Court of Directors. . . . You might, my Lord, have done more to indicate your countenance of those subscriptions, had I been entitled to such a proof of your personal good-will ; but though I should have felt as I ought for the motive, I should have regretted that you had yielded to it. Such a proceeding would have been construed into a transgression of the line of public duty, and have defeated its own purpose, by inducing a suspicion that the testimonials were extorted by the influence of authority. Considering the subject in its relation to your Lordship, I applaud the nice discretion with which you tempered a conduct impelled by a desire to promote the redress of an injured character. Regarding it merely as it affected myself, I am thankful for what you did, and for stopping precisely where you did stop.’ ”

Hastings' successor in the government of India thought better than Lord Macaulay did of the great man to the legacy of whose acts and policies he was immediate heir and successor. Is it not likely, under the circumstances, that Lord Cornwallis was very much better informed, and in very much more of a position to judge fairly than Lord Macaulay was fifty years afterwards? It is noteworthy that in Lord Cornwallis's correspondence there are to be found “uncomplimentary remarks about Impey.” Which, being interpreted, mean that honest men don't like skunks.

Voluminous and more or less inutile reports were not the official order of the day in Lord Cornwallis's time. In his time the Simla Capua had not been invented ; Calcutta was the focus of Government authority, and fashion ; and Calcutta was damnably dull. Wherefore, we find the greatly bored

but indefatigable Governor-General writing to his son at Eton :—

That life in the City of Palaces was mere clockwork. “ I get on horse-back just as the dawn of day begins to appear, ride on the same road and the same distance, pass the whole forenoon after my return from riding in doing business, and almost exactly the same portion of time every day at table, drive out in a phaeton a little before sunset. then write or read over letters or papers on business for two hours ; sit down at nine with two or three officers of my family to some fruit and a biscuit, and go to bed soon after the clock strikes ten. I don't think the greatest sap at Eton can lead a duller life than this.”

That last sentence conveys a touch of nature one would hardly have expected from the author of the *Perpetual Settlement*. It is written :—“ Cornwallis, though he did not anticipate the ceremonial and show of Lord Wellesley, who attended public worship on Sunday in his robes of state, and who issued an order prohibiting all servants of Government from horse-racing on Sunday, set an excellent example of public morality.” With reference to which excellent example we may perhaps be allowed to enquire with all due humility, whether it is better to cleanse the outside of cups and platters or the inside ? Unlike Lord Lawrence and the Queen-Empress, Lord Cornwallis paid regard to the duties of hospitality appertaining to his high office, and was always willing to prove, by a loosening of his own purse-strings, that he held it obligatory on the part of a recipient of large sums of public money devised for public entertainment—to entertain.

In 1792 we find him writing to his brother that the war with Tippoo Sultan had put him considerably out of pocket. “ I spent £27,360 reckoning the current rupee at two shillings, between the 1st of December 1790 and the 31st July 1792, besides the wine from England, and two Arabian horses for which I am to give English hunters.”

Lord Cornwallis, we are told, either does not appear to have found the time, or did not acknowledge the necessity of many visits to the interior. Office work is easier to clerkly minds than inspection work. Cornwallis, living in the spirit of the age he lived in, was to a certain extent melodramatically inclined, not averse to posing on quasi-theatrical stages, as prime mover in movements he had very little to do with really. He appears to have been a very tame sportsman :—

“ Allusions to sport occur occasionally. The partridge shooting at Culford was good, especially in November and December. And as the practice of driving birds was then unknown, it may be presumed that there was more cover in the fields than we see anywhere at present. But we do not find any mention of a tiger, a deer, or a buffalo hunt in any of the most familiar correspondence, though districts now entirely cleared of trees and grass jungle, numbering countless villages, and containing a population of 500 souls to the square mile, were then the haunts of deer, wild boars, leopards, and tigers.”

Over and above his sporting proclivities, my Lord Cornwallis was by way of being a traveller :—

“ In the year 1787 he visited Benares, going up the Ganges in the State barge, and it was justly considered a marvellous rate of progress, when an editor could record that, including stoppages at divers stations on the river, Krishnagar, Bhágalpur, Patná and others, he arrived at Benares in a month. One result of this visit was that he prohibited not only Europeans generally, but persons in the Civil and Military Services, from proceeding beyond Baksar without an official pass. The tour also brought to his notice the melancholy fact, that many of the subalterns in the army had got deeply into debt, owing to dissipation and extravagance.”

A'propos of the settlement of Benares, here is a significant extract from a letter written by the Governor-General in 1787 :—

“ ‘ Ill as I thought of the late system of Benares, I found it, on enquiry, much worse than I could have conceived. The Resident, although not regularly invested with any power, enjoyed the almost absolute government of the country without control. His emoluments, besides the thousand rupees per month allowed him by the Company, certainly amounted to little less than four lakhs a year, exclusive of the complete monopoly of the whole commerce of the country, with the power of granting *parwanas*, &c. It has been generally supposed that in return for all these good things, the Residents at Benares have not been ungrateful to the friends of the Governor-General. I have no reason to suppose that Mr. — took more than his predecessors— God knows what he *gave* ; but as he was on bad terms with the Rájá and his servants, and as new measures are more likely to succeed with new men, I thought it better to remove him. Although many persons were desirous, nay even importunate, to show their zeal for the Company's service by undertaking this office, it was not very easy for me to find a successor to my mind. For I could not venture to lower the authority of the Resident too abruptly, from apprehension of losing our revenue ; and as the Rájá is a fool, his servants rogues, every native of Hindustan (I really believe) corrupt, and Benares 600 miles from Calcutta, there was a danger, unless it was put into good hands, of the old system being in some degree continued.

“ ‘ As I had the prosperity of Benares most exceedingly at heart, and as I felt that nothing could tend so much as a good management of that Province to raise our character and reputation in the remotest parts of Hindustán, I determined on this occasion to make a very great sacrifice, and, much against his own will, appointed Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the Secretary of the Public and Revenue Departments, to that office. Perhaps you are not acquainted with Mr. Duncan's character : he is held in the highest estimation by every man, both European and native, in Bengal. and, next to Mr. Shore, was more capable of assisting me, particularly in revenue matters, than any man in this country. I am sorry to say that I have every reason to believe that at present, almost all the Collectors are, under the name of some relation or friend, deeply engaged in commerce, and, by their influence as Collectors and Judges of Adalat, they become the most dangerous enemies to the Company's interest, and the greatest oppressors of the manufacturers.’ ”

Rulers of India : Akbar. By COLONEL G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I. Oxford : Clarendon Press : 1890.

INEVITABLY, Colonel Malleeson's *Akbar*, the latest addition to the Rulers of India Series in course of publication by the Clarendon Press, challenges comparison with Von Noer's *Emperor Akbar, a Contribution towards the History of India in the 16th Century*, commented on in last October's issue of this *Review*. Colonel Malleeson's book is more compact, better adapted to school-board uses and the needs of elementary education than Von Noer's more elaborate and scientific book was. As a lifelike presentment of events and the causes that led up to them, a history throwing light on, and giving insight into, the beginnings of Indian Imperialism and the conditions of life and law 300 years ago, with all that makes such a chronicle worth reading, Von Noer's painstaking, sympathetic record is, it seems to us, likely to be of infinitely more value to the student of history, who looks for something beyond dates and barren data, than this constrainedly condensed, and ergo somewhat bold, attempt at paraphrase of a great subject.

Colonel Malleeson starts in his excursus with a patronizing notice of Babar and his dreams of conquest, this man being recognized as greatly in advance of his time, albeit, in his connection with Hindustan, "but little more than a conqueror," and even as to that subordinate rôle in the world's fair, "it is a question whether the central idea of Babar's policy was not the creation of an Empire in Central Asia rather than of an empire (with a small e) in India." In support of which guess at truth no attempt at proof is made, though it is written that, subsequently, Humayoon ruled for eight years in India "without contributing a single stone to the foundation of an Empire." Von Noer, with keener, because more sympathetic and understanding interest in the subject, was able to see that memories and traditions of Babar, his chivalry, his unselfishness, his intrinsic nobility of character—all the grand qualities that worldly people in their shortsightedness look upon as folly—played no insignificant part in the formation of the youthful Akbar's character, and so *did* materially help afterwards towards a substantial building up of Empire. As to Humayun's policy, Colonel Malleeson—invidiously to our thinking—maintains that conciliation of the millions of Hindustan did not enter into his system. He was content to govern by camps located in the districts he had conquered ; and his Alsace-Lorraine policy is by Colonel Malleeson imputed to him for unrighteousness. In our school days we used to be taught that such was the way in which old world Roman conquerors dealt with the peoples who, unfortu-

nately or fortunately for themselves, found themselves ranged in opposition to *Senatus populus que Romanus*, and its attendant eagles. Later on in the world's chronicle Norman conquerors of Saxon and Dane freeholders on English soil, were not particularly careful to conciliate the fallen—if history tells a true tale. When, in the whirlgigs of the world's history have conquerors ever gone out of their way to be extra civil to the conquered? *Væ victis* is a policy deep rooted in human nature; yesterday, to-day, for all time. Humayun was by no means the exception to orthodox patterns of human nature Colonel Malleson assumes him to have been. Circumstances were against him.

As to the matter of standing camps, that is made a reproach to Humayun, if, *circa* the fourteenth century, he had been able to see his way to doing without them, he would have been glad enough to be absolved of the trouble. It is so easy to say wise things, after the event—*Eventus stultorum Magister*.

Colonel Malleson has, he tells us in his preface, divided his life of Akbar into three portions. The first, is sacred to Babar; the second monopolized by Humayun; while what is left of the perspective is supposed to relate to Akbar. Colonel Malleson says, "I have described him as a husband, as a father, as a man who, despite of a religious education abounding in the inculcation of hostility to all who differed from him, gave his intellect the freest course, and based his conduct on the teachings of his intellect." This declaration notwithstanding, we are told nothing about Akbar's marital relations to the six or seven thousand women he used to maintain in his zenana. On a possibly wider-reaching subject, we are told, with reference to Akbar's marriages with Rajputni princesses, that "that there was, he well knew, no such equalizer as marriage." That is a quite novel reading of Mahomedan law; a reading peculiar to Colonel Malleson, we take it.

Colonel Malleson thinks Akbar never knew of the share his son Selim, (afterwards the Emperor Jehangeer), had in the murder of Abulfazl. Colonel Malleson would appear to be in entire sympathy with Akbar's assumptions of godhead and infallibility and encouragement of learning.

"He never pardoned," writes Professor Blochmann, 'pride and conceit in a man, and of all kinds of conceit, the conceit of learning was most hateful to him.' Hence the cry of the class affected by his action, that he discouraged learning and learned men. He did nothing of the sort. There never has flourished in India a more generous encourager of the real thing. In this respect the present rulers of India might profit by his example. One of the men whose knowledge of history was the most extensive in that age, and who possessed great talents and a searching mind, was Khán-í-Azam Mírzá, son of his favourite nurse. For a long time this man held fast to the orthodox profession of faith, ridiculing the 'new religion' of Akbar, and especially ridiculing Faizí and Abulfazl, to whom he applied nicknames expressing his sense of

their pretensions. But at a later period he had occasion to make the pilgrimage to Mekka, and there he was so fleeced by the priests that his attachment to Islām insensibly cooled down. On his return to Agra, he became a member of the Divine Faith. He wrote poetry well, and was remarkable for the ease of his address and his intelligence. One of his many aphorisms has descended to posterity. It runs as follows : 'A man should marry four wives—a Persian woman to have somebody to talk to ; a Khorasānī woman for his housework ; a Hindu woman, for nursing his children ; and a woman from Marawānnahr (Turkistan) to have some one to whip as a warning to the other three.'

We commend the concluding portion of this extract to the tender attention of modern women's rights advocates.

Sketches of Some Distinguished Indian Women. By MRS. E. F. CHAPMAN, with a Preface by the Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, London : W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, and at Calcutta, 1891.

MRS. CHAPMAN'S *Sketches of Some Distinguished Indian Women* contains short memoirs of the lives of Pandita Ramabai, Dr. Anandibai Joshee, the Maharanee of Kooch Behar, Toru Dutt, and Cornelia Sorabjee. These names may, without cavil, be accepted as a fairly representative list of Indian women who have become distinguished of late years, though we cannot agree with the author in thinking them typical instances of the results of civilization and educational influences on different races and classes in Indian society. Civilization with Mrs. Chapman appears to mean following after Western rules of conduct and etiquette ; educational influences are interpreted as acceptance of the tenets of the Evangelical School of Protestantism. We take leave to think that there have been in the immediate past, and are at the present time, in our midst, women quite as "distinguished," albeit not Christians, as Cornelia Sorabjee, or the Maharanee of Kooch Behar. Sir John Ellesmere, in *Friends in Council*, said he considered it a mistake to have the reciprocity all on one side. Similarly we incline to think that this would have been a better book had its author been able to see and frankly acknowledge that there may be things good, and beautiful, and of good report and repute, even outside the pale of Evangelical Christianity and its feeble, facing-both-ways shadow, Brahmoism.

Ramabai's story is known to everybody : it is fairly well retold in these pages. From the story of Dr. Anandibai Joshee's career, we cull the following extract :—

"In 1885 Gopal Joshee arrived in America, but his coming only proved what her friends had feared it might do, a source of embarrassment to his wife. He began talking and writing in a quite unaccountable manner, speaking slightly of women and their capacity for education, and, at the same time, showing himself quite ready to take every advantage of his wife's exertions, and of the kindness which

her friends showed him for her sake. His presence added to his wife's difficulties in every way, and his conduct and conversation were calculated to strengthen the belief, already held by many people, that the *average* Hindu is not likely to be benefited by visiting Europe or America, and that it will take years of education and experience to counteract the effects, on the minds of Indian men, of the belief in their absolute superiority to women, in which they have been trained for so many generations."

America would appear to be the promised land of all strong-minded woman's rights advocating Indian women. Who does not know the sad story of the graceful and sympathetic singer Toru Dutt? who does not, in recalling it to memory, recall therewithal the tender, loving epitaph of the old-world Greeks. "Those whom the Gods love die young!"—Toru Dutt's sympathies with regard to European literature were affiliated to French styles and French modes of thought rather than English. She put Victor Hugo on a higher poetical throne than Shakespeare: her real, innate genius for poetry saved her from imitating his turgid, ranting, mock heroics. Mrs. Chapman's memoir adds nothing to our knowledge of Toru Dutt's life and life-work. An English gentleman, resident in Calcutta, once, we are told, paid a visit to the sisters Aru and Toru, and, in the course of conversation, asked them what were their favourite books:—

"Oh! novels, of course," replied the younger sister, who was almost always the spokeswoman.

'Novels!' exclaimed their visitor; 'I am sorry to hear that. You should read history.'

'Oh, no!' was the answer; 'for history is false, but novels are true.'

The Indian Church Quarterly Review. April 1891. Edited by the REV. H. J. SPENCE GRAY, M.A. London: Messrs. J. Masters, 78, New Bond Street. Calcutta: Oxford Mission Press. 3, Garstin's Place.

WE more than doubt whether any utile account of the philosophical systems of the Hindus can be given in 30 pages octavo. The Rev. Father Goreh, S.S.J.E., attempts it in the April number of *The Church Quarterly Review*. Here is a quotation from his article with which we agree:—

"Want of common sense is the great characteristic of the learned men of India. They were not ignorant of the rules of reasoning, but their fault lies in accepting false maxims, and they have not the common sense to perceive the monstrousness of the conclusions to which they are brought, starting from those maxims, and never suspect that perhaps those maxims were false."

The Bishop of Jerusalem's contribution, *Christianity in the Holy Land*, is liberal-minded, catholic in the best sense of the word, and exceedingly interesting. The key-note of a paper on the case of the Bishop of Lincoln reads thus:—"On the whole, is not an attempt to revive a quasi-papal autocracy in a Metropolitan something of an anachronism?"

Two Essays on Theology and Ethics. By HIRALAL HALDAR. M.A., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Assistant Professor of English Literature, Rajchunder College, Barisal. Calcutta. 1891.

THE author of this book, in his preface thereto, advertises that materials for it have been largely gathered from *The Indian Messenger*, which is, it appears, "a weekly journal published from Calcutta." Whether it is published in Calcutta does not appear.

Baboo Hiralal Haldar says that "his object is to supply an introduction to the Neo-Kantian or Neo-Hegelian Philosophy of Great Britain", though he entertains "no hope that by reading his book students will be able to form any clear idea of the leading positions of that philosophy." Since he is possessed of that idea, it occurs to us that his book might as well have been unwritten, all the more so, since he says explicitly that, in his essays, "certainly no original doctrine is to be found."

Report on the Old Records of the India Office, with Supplementary Note and Appendices. By SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, M.D., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D. (Second Reprint). London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, and at Calcutta. 1891.

FROM the many-sided Sir George Birdwood we looked for something a good deal more picturesque and interesting than this somewhat bald calendar. At least 204 pages, out of the 316 of which it consists, would have been more fitly designated an Index than a Report. The book is gorgeously bound, illustrated and emblazoned, quite an *édition de luxe*; but that is the best that can be said of it; three-fourths of the printed matter contained in it was not worth printing, either from an antiquarian, an æsthetic, a politico-economical, or any other point of view. Apologists for Sir George Birdwood may urge that he had, to a great extent, to do his literary brickmaking not only without straw, but with very little clay either. For a great many records that ought to have been preserved were not. There are years and years of gaps in the file of Court Minutes. Marine Records are altogether "missing." With reference to very early records, we are told that a book has recently been discovered in the India Office containing letters and other documents up to 1616. After which date there is an absence of letters till—1653. Under such circumstances we think the Curator of the Indian Museum might, with advantage to himself and the public, have devoted his versatile talents to some other and more fructuous work of literary ex-

ploitation. He is of a contrary opinion, however, and says in an introductory note to his book :—

“ Quite apart from the extraordinary history of the East India Company, every fact recorded in these papers has its significance for the student of the past. It would be useless therefore to attempt to make a selection from them ; for what one enquirer might overlook as of no interest, another would find of the highest importance. For instance, what I have found most interesting in these records are the entries illustrative of the history of articles of trade,—such as the mention made of tea, opium, indigo, gum-lac, gamboge, and kino ; and of shawls, carpets, and the like,—which to most persons would seem trivial, if not altogether worthless ”

Here is a passage from the body of the work illustrative of the early history of trade from England to the East Indies :—

“ In 1621 Sir Thomas Mun, Deputy Governour of the Company, published his *Discourse of Trade from England to the East Indies*. In this he showed that the annual consumption in Europe of the following articles from Southern Asia then was :—

					lbs.
Pepper	...	...	...	..	6,000,000
Cloves	...	...	...	...	450,000
Nutmegs	...	...	...	...	400,000
Indigo	...	...	...	...	350,000
Mace	...	...	...	...	150,000
Raw silk [Persia]	...	...	...	...	1,000,000

“ This, by the old overland route, would have cost 1,465.000*l.*, but by the new sea route cost only 511,458*l.* Moreover, the English consumption of these articles being about one-tenth of the Continental, the original price paid for them by the Company was more than recovered on the portion of them re-exported to the Continent : besides which the entire cost of the ships, wages, provisions, and insurance, was paid out of the gross profits of the Company's trade to the English people. In fact, the only bullion exported by the Company out of England was but a fractional portion of what was imported into the country from the Continent of Europe in payment of their re-exported cargoes of pepper and other Indian spices. ”

Sir George Birdwood deems it notable that the English East India Company, in 1769, enjoined on their employés in India that “ channels of trade should be in every respect free and unconstrained ” Every degree of restraint is contrary to the fundamental principles of trade and commerce All monopolies are to be discouraged. ” Very pretty on paper ; but can one believe that the smug pagoda-worshipping merchant adventurers who promulgated this commandment really intended their factors in the East to abide by it ? Would it not have fared ill with the man who did scrupulously abide by it ? In these our days of the one-and-four-penny rupee, 'tis an odd irony to find the Worshipful East India Company, 200 years ago, enquiring of its servants in the East “ whether the scarcity of silver is general, and whether it is owing to exportation, or to the fatal consequences of the

gold coinage." What these fatal consequences were is not apparent; perhaps some anti-bimetallist will inform us.

Some of Sir George Birdwood's foot-notes are opportune and informing, *e.g.* and *à propos* of Sir Joseph Pease's late motion in the House of Commons and the ensuent triumph of cant over common sense and equity, read this one:—

"It was not until 1773 that the Company undertook the supervision of the manufacture of opium in Bengal, Behar and Orissa. In 1797 the cultivation of the poppy for opium was restricted to Behar and Benares, and discontinued in Bengal. An immense trade had been going on between India and the surrounding countries in this drug long before the Company monopolized it. Thus Barbosa [1516] mentions that the Chinese ships on their return voyages loaded at Malacca with "much *aufian*, which we call opium." Valentijn [1726] writes:—'Java alone consumes monthly 350 packs of opium, each being of 130 *catis*.' And Hamilton [1727]:—'The Chiefs of Calicut for many years had vended between 500 and 1,000 chests of Bengal opium yearly 'up in the inland countries, where it was very much used.' The regular exports of the Company from Bengal began in 1796. Opium smoking is known to have prevailed in China at least fifty years before this; while the artistic elaboration of the opium pipe of the remoter parts of that country points backward to very remote centuries as the date of the origination of the habit. This, however, is a mere inference, and the recorded contemporary evidence of the extension of the use of opium from Egypt and Asia Minor renders it probable, that its introduction into Persia and India, at least, was due to the Mahomedan traders of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. If this was actually the case, we owe to them at once the provision of alcohol as the special stimulant of the western and northern nations of the Old World, and of opium as the favourite narcotic of its southern and eastern populations. For the New World there was tobacco; and it is likely, in time, to everywhere supplant both ardent spirits and opium as the popular *φάρμακον νηπιεuths*. In packet 14 of the collections of India Office Records enumerated in the Statistics and Commerce Departmental List No. 2397, there is a letter, written in 1711, from Vizagapatam to Mr. Thomas Woolley, who was for more than twenty years Secretary to the 'United [East India] Company,' enlarging on the uses of opium to vegetarians. It will be found reprinted in the *Times*, 27th July 1886."

Between pages 242 and 248 may be found an exhaustive critical note on the charge of bribery brought against La Bourdonnais by some historians.

Our author is of opinion that there is no conclusive evidence of the truth of the charge; and thereanent pertinently remarks: "Bribery has always had an interest for minds given to searching out mean and sordid causes for the great results of history."

Full Notes on Grant's Xenophon. Indian University Series
With Introduction, Index, Question Papers and Plans By
S. RADHAKRISHNA AIYAR, B.A., First Assistant, Maharajah's
College, Pudukota. Madras: V. Kalyanaram Iyer. 1891.

TIME was when Mr. E. Lethbridge, whilom of the Indian Educational Service, used to deluge the School book market with primers, abridgements, annotations, &c., on stock subjects, stamped with his imprimatur. His market monopoly

has fallen apparently on the shoulders of Mr. V. Kalyanaram Iyer, who has to be thanked for notes published by him on *Grant's Xenophon*, for yet another new edition of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, and yet another presentment of Chaucer's Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. Xenophon wrote history, and it will do Indian students no harm to learn that history by heart. As to the other two books, oriental sympathies have no more affinity with Bacon and Chaucer, than *ghee* has with English ideas as to the soap and water rites proper to be observed in bathing and cleansing one's body from impurities.

The National Review. May 1891. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place.

A CAPITAL number this. The Clitheroe case serves as text for the first article on *The Law relating to the Married*. Mr. Barham, although conspicuously out as to his political forecasts, gives a good deal of curious information as to the ways and means of the hillmen around Manipur. *How I became a Conservative* is a most amusing political squib, and not less amusing is the record of *A Modern High School Girl*. Mr. C. T. Buckland contributes a chatty article on his *Jail Experiences in India*.

Thacker's Reduced Survey Map of India. By J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S., with Index.

AN excellent map, not the least merit of which is its handiness.

It has been corrected up to date, and gives in detail all the leading features of the General Survey Sheets, and also results of the latest frontier and geographical scientific exploitation. To the map is prefixed an Index giving the location of each one of the 10,000 names appearing on it.

Mr. Bartholomew's name is a guarantee of accuracy and good work.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Statistical Tables for British India. Compiled in the Statistical Branch of the Finance and Commerce Department. Calcutta : Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1891.

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries. For the eleven months, April 1890 to February 1891, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1888-89 and 1889-90.

The National Review. For March and April 1891. London : W. H. Allen & Co. Limited, 13, Waterloo Place.

Kant's Principles of Politics. Including his Essay on Perpetual Peace. A contribution to political science, edited and translated by W. Hastie, B.D., Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 38, George Street. 1891.

Pre-Organic Evolution and the Biblical Idea of God. An exposition and criticism, by Chas. Chapman M.A., LL.D., Principal of Western College, Plymouth. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clarke, 38, George Street. 1891.

Philosophy and Theology. Being the First Edinburgh University Gifford Lectures. By James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D., Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 38, George Street. 1890.

Contents and Index of the first twenty Volumes of the Records of the Geological Survey of India, 1868 to 1887. Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1891.

The Indian University Series. Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales with Introductory Notices, a modern Prose version of the Poem, Notes, Questions and Glossary. By J. Creighton. Madras : V. Kalyanaram Iyer. 1890.

Bacon : the Advancement of Learning. Edited by F. G. Selby, M.A. (Oxon). Volume I. Madras : V. Kalyanaram Iyer. 1891.

The Indian Magazine and Review. Vol. XXII, No. 244, April 1891.

Bibliotheca Sanscrita ; or Catalogue of new and second hand books on Sanskrit Literature. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited, 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C. 1891.

Reports on the Jails of the Punjab. For the year 1890. By T. E. L. Bate, Surgeon-Major, Inspector General of Prisons, Punjab. Published by Authority. Printed at the Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore. 1891.

PREMIUMS MODERATE.

CONDITIONS LIBERAL.

THE STANDARD

ESTABD.
1825.

LIFE OFFICE.

THE NEW ASSURANCES have exceeded £1,000,000 per annum every year since 1865,—a result maintained uninterruptedly for so long a period by no other **British Office.**

THE FUNDS have increased **50 per cent.** during the last 15 years, and now amount to **Seven Millions Sterling.**

THE CALCUTTA NEW BUSINESS has doubled within the last two years.

THOMAS LANG,

General Secretary for India and the East.

4, COUNCIL HOUSE STREET, CALCUTTA.

CUTHBERTSON & HARPER,

10, GOVERNMENT PLACE, CALCUTTA.

MILITARY * SADDLERS,
HARNESS & BOOTMAKERS

To H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, the Lieut.-Governor of
the Punjab and N.-W. Provinces.

MEDALS from the Calcutta and Indian Colonial Exhibitions.

HARNESS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION.—Hand Sewn, highly
finished, and at moderate prices.

English Imported Harness.—Gig, Brass-mounted, Rs. 75. Nickel-plated 85.
Horse Clothing of Kersey and Princes Check. Horse Rugs of Jute
Check. Woollen lined, with Roller complete, Rs. 7, 9 and 10-8.

SADDLES—Of every style and shape. Colonial, Training and Rac-
ing Saddles. Hunting Saddles complete, Rs. 45.

NEW REGULATION SADDLES—For Infantry, Mounted Officers.
Ladies' Saddles, the new Level Seat, Rs. 100 to 140.

Sir Sam Brown Belts and Military Accoutrements of every kind.

Military Regulation Boots. Elcho, Newmarket, Racing & Hunting
Top Boots.

White Buckskin Tennis Shoes. The Celebrated Waterproof K. Boots
Meltonian and Lutetian Cream, Momrogan. Dubbin, and all the
best Compos kept in Stock.

ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE ON APPLICATION.

HEALTH FOR ALL !!! HOLLOWAY'S PILLS & OINTMENT.

THE PILLS

Purify the Blood, correct all Disorders of the

LIVER, STOMACH, KIDNEYS AND BOWEL.

They invigorate and restore to health Debilitated Constitutions, and are invaluable
in all Complaints incidental to Females of all ages. For Children and the
aged they are priceless.

THE OINTMENT


Is an infallible remedy for Bad Legs, Bad Breasts, Old Wounds, Sores and Ulcer.
Is famous for Gout and Rheumatism. For disorders of the Chest it has no equal

FOR SORE THROATS, BRONCHITIS, COUGHS, COLDS,
Glandular Swellings, and all Skin Diseases it has no rival; and for contracted and
stiff joints it acts like a charm.

Manufactured only at THOMAS HOLLOWAY'S Establishment,

78, NEW OXFORD STREET (late 533, OXFORD STREET), LONDON,

and are sold at 1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d. 11s., 22s., and 33s. each Box or Pot, and may be had of all
Medicine Vendors throughout the World.

 Purchasers should look to the Label on the Pots and Boxes. If the address
is not 533, Oxford Street, London, they are spurious.